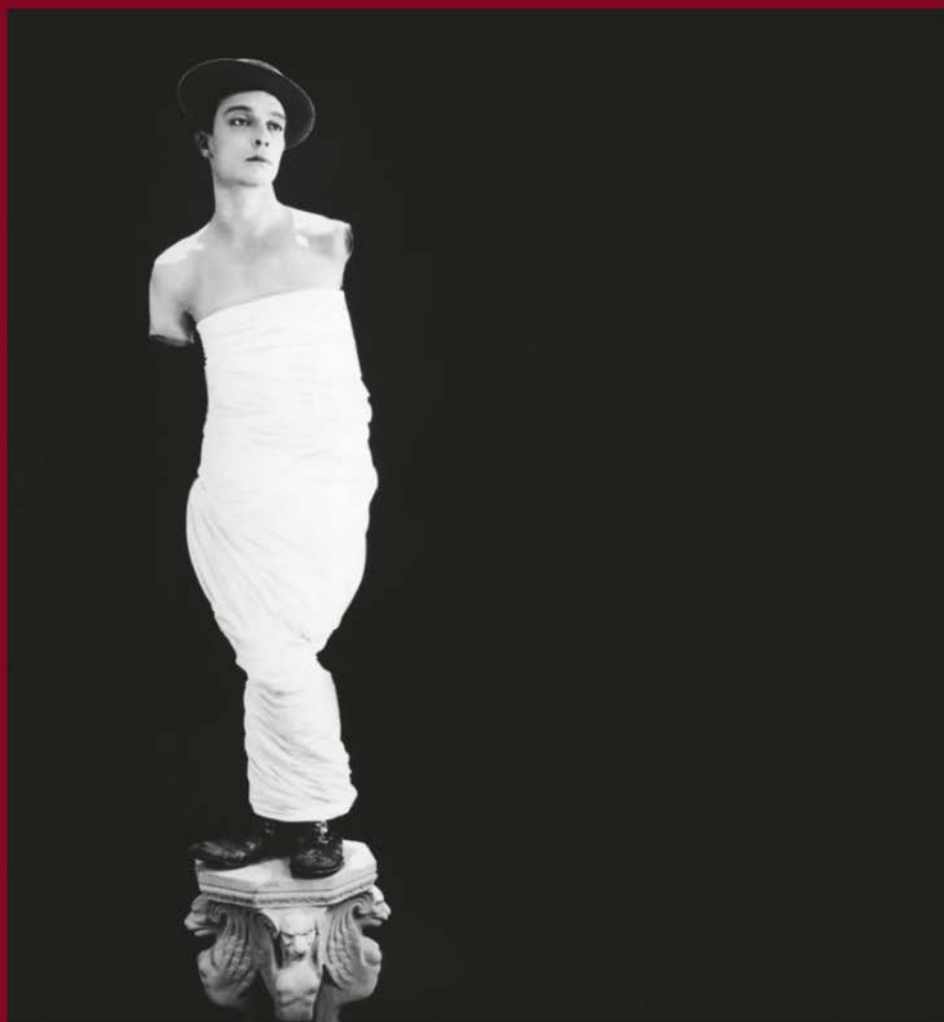


Hellenomania

Edited by

KATHERINE HARLOE, NICOLETTA MOMIGLIANO,
and ALEXANDRE FARNOUX



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Modern Greek and Byzantine Studies

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Hellenomania

Hellenomania, the second volume in the MANIA series, presents a wide-ranging, multi-disciplinary exploration of the modern reception of ancient Greek material culture in cultural practices ranging from literature to architecture, stage and costume design, painting, sculpture, cinema, and the performing arts. It examines both canonical and less familiar responses to both real and imagined Greek antiquities from the seventeenth century to the present, across various national contexts. Encompassing examples from Inigo Jones to the contemporary art exhibition documenta 14, and from Thessaloniki and Delphi to Nashville, the contributions examine attempted reconstructions of an 'authentic' ancient Greece alongside imaginative and utopian efforts to revive the Greek spirit using modern technologies, new media, and experimental practices of the body. Also explored are the political resonances of Hellenomaniac fascinations, and tensions within them between the ideal and the real, the past, present, and future.

Part I examines the sources and derivations of Hellenomania from the Baroque and pre-Romantic periods to the early twentieth century. While covering more canonical material than the following sections, it also casts spotlights on less familiar figures and sets the scene for the illustrations of successive waves of Hellenomania explored in subsequent chapters. Part II focuses on responses, uses, and appropriations of ancient Greek material culture in the built environment—mostly architecture—but also extends to painting and even gymnastics; it examines in particular how a certain idealisation of ancient Greek architecture affected its modern applications. Part III explores challenges to the idealisation of ancient Greece, through the transformative power of colour, movement, and of reliving the past in the present human body, especially female. Part IV looks at how the fascination with the material culture of ancient Greece can move beyond the obsession with Greece and Greekness.

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and Alexandre Farnoux

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Preface

The volume *Hellenomania* is the second to emerge from a series of international colloquia organised by the École française d'Athènes (EfA) in collaboration with the Institute of Greece, Rome, and the Classical Tradition (IGRCT-University of Bristol) and the British School at Athens (BSA). This series has the general title of MANIA (*Mouvements d'art néo et influence archéologique*), and explores the reception of Greece's ancient material culture, from the Bronze Age to Byzantium, across a variety of modern cultural practices, focusing on the intersections and dynamics between modern artistic (and literary) movements and ancient material culture as (often) revealed through archaeological activities.

Although reception studies are long established in the study of literature (particularly in comparative literature), the same cannot be said with regard to history of art and archaeology, where the useful but limited concept of influence still largely holds sway. Hellenism—which the École française d'Athènes has explored in all its aspects since 1846—has provided European artists with the remains of a prestigious and much-valued material culture. In different countries and ages, these remains have provoked different responses, from passionate admiration to rejection. We now have a relatively clear understanding of the long, slow transmission and gradual reception of the great literary and philosophical texts as well as their impact on European literature since the Renaissance and even before. Much less secure, however, is our understanding of the effects of archaeological discoveries, which are often by nature sudden and unexpected. Nevertheless, the artistic 'fortune' of Hellenism, constantly transformed by these new discoveries, appears to be particularly rich. On the one hand, archaeological discoveries have provoked many questions and passionate debates in artistic circles: thus, modern responses to antiquity have affected all artistic domains and merit our careful consideration. On the other hand, modern aesthetics, which also vary according to country and era, have informed the understanding and reception of materials emerging from excavations. It is this encounter between past and present, this mutual exchange, its artistic, cultural, and political issues, which the MANIA programme seeks to explore.

The more specific objectives of these colloquia are multiple: to analyse the historical and intellectual context of the reception of Greece's material culture from various periods; to measure how the incorporation of past Greek remains into modern works of art and other cultural practices (from architecture to dance and cinema) has provoked (or not) different 'manias', and may have contributed, in turn, to new interpretations of the past; and to provide, as far

as possible, a critical comparison of national reception traditions, which have made responses to the Greek past political issues debated in the present.

The volume *Cretomania* (published in September 2016) was the first product of this ‘maniac’ series and French–British collaboration—another *entente cordiale* much enjoyed by both parties. It presents papers concerning modern receptions of ancient Minoan material culture, ranging from Mariano Fortuny’s scarves of the first decade of the twentieth century to present-day neo-pagan movements and a chapter by one of the most acclaimed contemporary Greek writers, Rhea Galanaki. The present volume includes papers presented at the Hellenomania colloquium, held in Athens on 16–18 October 2014, with the exception of those given by Semele Assinder (on ‘The record of events is written into the earth—travel writing and archaeology in 1939’), Vinzenz Brinkmann (on ‘Chromophobia’), and Ian Jenkins (on ‘Zeus in London and Paris’), which are to be published elsewhere. It offers an additional chapter by Athena Leoussi, and an ‘afterword’ by Eleana Yalouri, who participated in the original colloquium as a respondent.

In addition to the presentation and discussion of papers, including Eleni Sikelianos’s performance of her multi-media piece, the colloquium involved a public screening of nine short silent films, or surviving excerpts, dating from 1903 to 1927 (from Georges Méliès’s *Le tonnerre de Jupiter* to Alexander Korda’s *The Private Life of Helen of Troy*), titled ‘Ancient Greece in Silent Cinema’ and organised by Pantelis Michelakis (University of Bristol). The public’s viewing experience of the films was further enriched by the live performance of original musical compositions by the musicologist and composer Minas Alexiadis. This well-attended event was held in the auditorium of the Institut Français in Athens.

Hellenomania would not have been possible without the help of various individuals and institutions. We express here our thanks to the speakers at the colloquium (Semele Assinder; Vinzenz Brinkmann; Katherine Harloe; Styliana Galiniki; Ian Jenkins; Richard Jenkyns; Lena Lambrinou; Artemis Leontis; Fiona Macintosh; Pantelis Michelakis; Charlotte Ribeyrol; Frank Salmon; Eleni Sikelianos; Esther Solomon; David Watkin; Martin M. Winkler); the chairs of sessions and discussants (Alexander Farnoux; Nicoletta Momigliano; Cathy Morgan; Dimitris Plantzos; and Eleana Yalouri); to all members of staff at the EfA and BSA, especially the BSA directors Catherine Morgan and her successor, John Bennet. Catherine Morgan and Ian Jenkins also deserve special thanks for their help and advice in organising the colloquium. We also express our gratitude to the EfA and IGRCT for generous financial support, the BSA for hosting a splendid final dinner, and last but not least to the Institut Français for providing a suitably large venue for the event ‘Ancient Greece in Silent Cinema’.

Alexandre Farnoux
Katherine Harloe
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Introduction:

Hellenomania: ancient and modern obsessions with the Greek past

Katherine Harloe and Nicoletta Momigliano

Als ich dann am Nachmittag nach der Ankunft auf der Akropolis stand und mein Blick die Landschaft umfasste, kam mir plötzlich der merkwürdige Gedanke: *Also existiert das alles wirklich so, wie wir es auf der Schule gelernt haben?!*

In the afternoon after arriving, as I stood on the Acropolis and cast my view on the landscape, suddenly a strange thought came to me: *so, does it all really exist as we have learnt at school?!*

(Freud 1936)

Hellenism, Romantic Hellenism, Hellenomania

Of all the obsessions with Greece's past envisioned by the MANIA series, Hellenomania is the broadest and arguably the most complex. Cretomania (the modern reception of, and engagement with, the Bronze Age/Minoan past in modern cultural practices), which formed the subject of our previous collection, emerged largely in the early twentieth century, after the spectacular archaeological discoveries made by Arthur Evans, Federico Halbherr, and others at sites such as Knossos and Phaistos.¹ Cretomania was also a phenomenon in which material culture took the centre stage, since the inhabitants of Bronze Age Crete have not (so far) bequeathed us any literary or historical texts to inform our understanding of their world.² In the case of Byzantinomania, the third planned volume in the series, the primacy of material culture is less absolute and, as an historical phenomenon, it also lasted considerably longer than Cretomania, since some forms and practices of reception of the Byzantine past (ranging from the collection of manuscripts and other objects to the role of Byzantium in the rise of the Russian nation) are evident from medieval and Renaissance times.³ Yet, intense interest in Hellenic culture, including material culture, stretches back well beyond medieval humanism into classical antiquity itself. The idealisation of ancient Greece in the cultural and educational ideology of many powerful and imperialistically active nations has, moreover, exported elements of Hellenomania across the globe.

Perhaps the most famous (indeed, notorious) appearance to date of the specific term 'Hellenomania' occurred three decades ago in the first volume of Martin Bernal's *Black Athena* (1987). Bernal used the term to indicate the particular vision of a 'pure' and 'original' Greece that arose among northern European, especially German, classical scholars at the turn of the nineteenth century and was driven by romantic and racist notions of European and Christian (especially Protestant) superiority.⁴ In using the term to capture the particular quality of northern European engagements with Greece from the 1790s to the mid-nineteenth century, Bernal differentiated 'Hellenomania' from the conceptually distinct, yet historically related, phenomena of 'Philhellenism' and 'Hellenism'. While Bernal followed standard terminology in using 'Philhellenism' to denote northern and western Europeans' support of the Greeks in their 1820s struggle for independence from the Ottoman Empire, his 'Hellenism' had a longer genealogy and a twofold meaning. Bernal used it, first, to indicate certain currents of textual and historical scholarship originating in the early modern period and exemplified in the early eighteenth century by figures such as Bentley and Newton, who employed critical techniques to undermine those ancient sources that attested to the priority of Egyptian civilisation.⁵ Second, 'Hellenism' (sometimes also 'Romantic Hellenism' or 'Neo-Hellenism') was his preferred term for that later eighteenth-century combination of scholarship with the Romantic longing for 'small, virtuous and "pure" communities' over great powers and empires popularised above all in relation to the (imagined) material culture of ancient Greece by Winckelmann, Goethe, and Humboldt.⁶

Whether Bernal was aware of it or not, his twofold deployment of 'Hellenism' departed from prior use of the term, which had entered English in the early modern period with a range of meaning including polytheism (in contrast to Judaism and Christianity), Graecism of language or rhetorical style, or (as in passages from the Septuagint and the New Testament) the adoption of Greek manners by certain constituencies of Diasporic Jews.⁷ Bernal's addition of a *maniac* element was very likely intended to emphasise the unhealthy and obsessional character of nineteenth-century classical scholars' preoccupation with pure Greek origins, and to undercut the association of 'Hellenism' with 'intellect' propagated at least since Matthew Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy* (1869).⁸ Although he does not say so explicitly, it also seems likely that Bernal did not opt for the better-established 'Graecomania' (already attested by the early 1800s) because the Greek 'Hellas'—as opposed to the Latin 'Graecia'—seemed more suited to denote an obsession with purity, race, origins, and philology. Bernal claimed to have felt very 'daring' when he 'coined' the term.⁹ But the word was in fact not entirely new, since it appears at least as early as a 1961 issue of the medical journal *The Lancet*. Here too 'Hellenomania' described an obsession: in this case, with the use of obscure Greek terms to coin names for medical conditions.¹⁰

Our own use of 'Hellenomania' originated from prosaic, even banal considerations: initial discussions and project planning of the MANIA series

between Farnoux and Momigliano occurred in Greece and in (modern) Greek, a language in which the word *Hellas* and its derivatives present themselves as the obvious choice. But we also suggest that it is valuable to use 'Hellenomania' more reflectively, to encompass a longer and more variegated history than the one envisaged polemically by Bernal. This shares with Bernal's usage the notion of a particularly charged response to an imagined, temporally and geographically bounded ideal of ancient Greece (usually, though not always, confined to the southernmost part of the Balkan peninsula and the islands of the Aegean Sea, and to the pre-Christian or even pre-Roman era). It also encompasses those currents of European thought and culture that Bernal denotes as 'Romantic' or 'Neo-Hellenism'. As our volume shows, however, Hellenomania is older than Bernal suggests, and does not always (though it does sometimes) involve a genetic discourse of origins. The categories of 'Romantic Hellenism' and 'philhellenism', which have already received a fair amount of attention in cultural history and classical reception studies, emerge in our collection as two varieties of Hellenomania that one can compare and explore in relation to numerous others.¹¹ With its broader reference, 'Hellenomania' allows us to examine the Romantic turn to Greece against the background of other significant receptions, including figures and movements against which Romantic figures reacted (Neoclassicism, the Baroque) as well as new movements (Aestheticism, Modernism), which succeeded and reacted against Romanticism in turn.

Waves and frequencies, purity and hybridisation

It is worth reflecting on some further parallels between our working concept of 'Hellenomania' and that of 'Hellenism'. Note, first, the not immediately obvious point that even in antiquity the terms 'Hellas' and 'Hellenes' already shared in something of the imaginative or ideal dimension of our 'Hellenomania'. From their use in Homer to denote the inhabitants of a particular region of Thessaly (a subset of the contingents named in the Iliadic Catalogue of Ships as fighting under Achilles), their occurrence in a famous passage of Herodotus (8.144.2) that purports to report Athenian resistance to the Persian Mardonius before the battle of Plataea has become canonical in understandings of classical Greeks as possessing a shared cultural identity that coexisted with more particular loyalties (such as those of the polis).¹² Though grounded in the ascription of some common 'ethnic' characteristics (such as language and religion) that cross polis boundaries, '*to Hellenikon*' invoked by the Athenians is not coterminous with any historically existing political unit or entity.¹³ It was not until the formation of the short-lived First Greek Republic in the 1820s that any such unit staked a claim to independence and self-determination. The 'idea' of Hellas was nevertheless potent for Greeks, and history shows numerous points of return to more or less explicit notions of an idealised

Greek past—from the *Periegesis tes Helladas* of the Greek-speaking Pausanias (likely from Lydia) during the high Roman Empire, to the ‘Renaissance’ of Byzantium under the Paleologoi and the cultural activities and exhortations of those Byzantine Greeks who arrived in Italy in the later fifteenth century in promoting ancient learning as a stimulus for a new crusade. The actors and political motivations are diverse, but the idea of a longed-for recovery of a lost and more glorious past persists.¹⁴

Such Hellenisms accord ancient Greece a normative status, as in the ancient usage of the term *Hellenismos* to denote proper style in written or spoken Greek.¹⁵ Yet in modern scholarly discourse ‘Hellenism’ has also carried a second meaning, which is again associated with eighteenth- and nineteenth-century scholarship: this time in the figures of J. G. Herder and J. G. Droysen. Here, it denotes that period of the fusion of Greek and ‘Oriental’ cultures in the centuries after Alexander the Great’s conquests that, in Anglophone contexts, is usually known as the ‘Hellenistic’ world. In a classic paper, Arnaldo Momigliano explored how Droysen’s use of the term ‘*Hellenismus*’ equivocated between a relatively straightforward, political meaning (‘the constitution of a system of states in which Oriental natives were governed by a Greco-Macedonian aristocracy’) and a never-fully-fleshed-out, cultural- and world-historical meaning according to which it denoted ‘the intermediary and transitional period between classical Greece and Christianity . . . a cultural movement which produced a new synthesis of Greek and Oriental ideas’.¹⁶ As Momigliano points out, the evolutionary aspects of this second, cultural meaning attest to the never-entirely-*aufgehoben* Hegelianism of Droysen’s thought.¹⁷ It is nevertheless a notion of Greekness founded upon syncretism or hybridisation rather than purity, and is evolutionary rather than simply nostalgic.

This ambiguity between notions of restoration, return, and purity on the one hand, and hybridity, evolution, and synthesis on the other, also affects a third modern discourse of Hellenism relevant to our volume, this time concerning the role of ideas of ancient Greece in shaping identities in the modern Greek state. A powerful critical current in contemporary Greek scholarship casts certain forms of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Hellenism and philhellenism operative in modern Greek nation-building as western European concepts and idealisations adapted and reproduced by the Greek population, and thus as an aspect of ‘crypto-colonialism’ of Greece, to use Michael Herzfeld’s term, by western European powers.¹⁸ In other words, ideas and ideals about Hellas formulated by northern and western European classicists and philhellenes were re-elaborated in multiple ways by the modern Greeks in an era of German, British, and French political, economic, and cultural hegemony. In a familiar discursive structure also manifest in, for example, Eurocentric and Christian representations of ancient Hebrew culture, western ideals of ‘classical’ Greek antiquity entailed the denigration, in more or less subtle ways, of modern Greeks as inferior to their classical ancestors.¹⁹ Such idealisations have had long-term cultural and intellectual reverberations: to

use the words of Artemis Leontis, the western 'modern fetish for the ancient, the defunct, and the exotic operates at the expense of the contemporary Greek world, which has been struggling to control interpretations of the past', and is often marginalised or entirely excluded.²⁰

Such discursive and colonial Hellenism has returned with a vengeance in the visual and verbal rhetoric employed during the recent (and ongoing) 'Greek Crisis': the economic and political predicament of the modern Greek state in the aftermath of the global financial crisis of 2007–2008.²¹ Over the past decade, mainstream rhetorical and visual narratives produced both within and outside of Greece have frequently portrayed its twenty-first-century citizens as inferior to both northern Europeans and their more illustrious ancestors in a manner that recalls the chauvinistic tropes repeated by early western travelers, while also purporting to remind the European Union and the rest of the world of their debt to ancient Hellas.²² For example, a government employee participating in a 2010 strike action against proposed austerity measures was reported in international media as saying, 'We feel humiliated and we understand that things cannot remain the same as they were before . . . but we gave the world democracy, and we expect the European Union to support us'.²³ This comment shows the double-bind in which such comparisons place contemporary Greeks: whether the emphasis in such invocations falls upon Hellas's past glory or present failure, in either case contemporary Greeks are deprived of culture and agency.

This recent (and ongoing) caricaturing of Greece and its past has underlined the relevance of a number of significant and innovative works by Greek authors, who—often with explicit reference to post-colonial theory and criticism—have attempted to 'decolonise' Hellenism, examining how modern Greeks have both reappropriated and strategically deployed the ancient past in ways that go beyond replicating the stereotypes and obsessions of traditional Hellenist discourse.²⁴ For example, Yannis Hamilakis has argued that western Hellenism in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries at first overshadowed a more local idea of national identity based on *Romiosyni*, but was transformed in the mid- to late nineteenth century, especially thanks to the historian Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos, into an 'indigenous Hellenism', which stressed ties with classical Greece but also incorporated multiple other Greek pasts—ancient (Archaic, Classical), Macedonian, medieval, and modern.²⁵ This 'indigenous' Hellenism, which united classical antiquity and Orthodox Christianity through Byzantium, was nonetheless heavily shaped by western (and especially German) scholarship, from ideas of Herderian-Hegelian spiritual continuity (*Volkgeist*) to Droysen's Hellenism.²⁶ Hamilakis's work has largely focused on archaeology (as a discipline and state apparatus) and material culture. Other scholars, such as Eleana Yalouri, Argyro Loukakis, Dimitris Damaskos, and Dimitris Plantzos (to give but a few of the most prominent examples), have also paid particular attention to archaeology and material culture as agents in the construction of the

new Hellenic nation and its identity, often deploying a variety of theoretical frameworks and approaches, especially in relation to processes of restoration, urban planning, sacralisation, and commodification as well as physical and sensorial experience of the Greek past.²⁷ A significant recent multi-disciplinary volume edited by Tziovas,²⁸ which includes a section on material culture, has also examined the role that notions of ancient Hellas/Hellenism have played in shaping modern Greek culture and its institutions, exploring how the Greek past has been 'constructed, performed, (ab)used, Hellenized, canonized, and ultimately decolonized and re-imagined'.²⁹

Although our volume has ended up with a more northern and western European focus than we had originally planned, it aims to engage with and complement the works mentioned above.³⁰ If Greece's most prominent recent experience on the world stage has attested to the continuing power of colonial forces and rhetoric, works of critical and post-colonial scholarship have also recognised how (modern) Greek ideas have been shaped in a complex dialogue (agonistic as well as eirenic) with non-Greek narratives. The Greeks' long history as both agents and subjects of colonisation, the unique role that Greek antiquity has played in the formation of notions of Christian, European, and western cultural identity, and the implication of that history and those notions in the genesis of the modern Greek state, mean that 'western' and 'indigenous' discourses are interrelated all the way down. As the aforementioned studies have shown, for Greece (as well as other nations) coming to terms with various constructions of the Greek past cannot involve the erasure of such entanglements: any reckoning must confront western discourses in their full complexity as well as providing counter-narratives.

These reflections, as well as the breadth of topics spanned in our book, suggest that while Hellenomania has been with us since antiquity it has proved particularly potent or intense at particular times and places. For this reason, although we flirted with various ways of conceptualising 'Hellenomania' (including the notion of a virus that mutates and Freud's model of the return of the repressed, as illustrated in his analysis of *Entfremdungsgefühl* or 'derealisation' on his encounter with the Athenian Acropolis),³¹ we have found the figure of a wave most apt for the phenomenon under study, since it reflects the fact that Hellenomania has both traversed space and time and varied in intensity and duration. The ebb and flow of waves also suits the fluctuation between Hellenomania as a historicist and 'purist' Greek ideal associated with the return to an originary and/or classicised past, and as a creative synthesis of Greek, Roman, and Christian traditions—a theme that is addressed in a number of chapters.³² Taken together, the chapters in this volume cast light on how certain ideas about the ancient Greek past have become transnational phenomena through repetition and reinvention and how Hellenomania's longevity and internal bifurcation have enabled it to influence and inform a wide number of other cultural narratives, from antiquarianism to modernism, nation-building to universalist humanism, and even Mediterraneanism.³³

Hellenomania and the material culture turn

Along with the other volumes in the MANIA series, our collection aims to contribute to the study of the dynamics and intersections between Greece's material past and modern cultural practices. In particular we aim to investigate how archaeological discoveries and other forms of engagement with material culture have catalysed innovation and self-reflection, as in Freud's famous encounter with the Athenian Acropolis referred to in our epigraph. We also explore how modern innovations, such as new artistic movements, media (e.g. cinema) and visual practices and disciplines (e.g. architecture, connoisseurship) have changed the ways in which modern subjects have viewed and experienced the Greek past. The idea of the series originated from a desire to shift some of the focus in reception studies from textual evidence to material culture. While reception studies has been one of the fastest-growing subject areas in Classics over the last few decades, until recently—and with the honourable exception of studies of ancient theatre in modern performance—the balance of activity has been on literary or philosophical topics in which visual or material culture has played only a fairly minor role.

This relative neglect seemed remarkable, given that ancient Greece's centrality in modern classical studies has informed the foci of reception studies from the start. It appears even more remarkable if one considers that Greek material culture arguably has a wider reach than literature and philology; for material objects (from neoclassical buildings to paintings, tableware, and even dress) are embedded in everyday life and require less specialist knowledge to access and engage with than do literary texts. Greek material culture has, moreover, played a crucial role in shaping perception and understandings of the ancient world even among scholarly specialists: it is arguable that the influential distinction between an authentically 'Greek' and a more generic 'Greco-Roman' antiquity, which emerged into scholarly orthodoxy in the generation after Winckelmann, was based on a new appreciation and analyses of ancient objects as much as—perhaps even more than—literary texts. The importance of material culture and of materiality is, moreover, increasingly recognised, as current debates illustrate.³⁴ Recent scholarly work in fields ranging from anthropology to history and philosophy sets out to break down the artificial dichotomies between people and things, texts and objects, the literary and the visual, analysing instead things, people, and words as entities with porous boundaries, entangled in webs of relationships that give meanings to each other.³⁵ This growing appreciation has found expression in labels such as the 'material turn' and 'material-culture turn', and is illustrated by the voluminous literature in many different disciplines that examines engagements with materials and materiality, their agency and affective presence as well as in the emergence of interdisciplinary work.³⁶

This appreciation is beginning to be reflected in recent trends in classical reception studies, especially in new works focusing on Pompeii and the

reception of antiquity in film.³⁷ They are accompanied by a growing body of work on museums, collecting, and exhibitions as significant forms of modern reception of the antique; on early modern antiquarianism; and on heritage in the context of imperialism.³⁸ Tziovas's aforementioned recent volume also includes a short section on 'material culture', containing four essays (on archaeology, tourist photography, staging of Greek tragedy, and the modern Olympic Games) that share a focus on its role within the construction of modern Greek identity.³⁹ These both advance the agenda set by Hamilakis, Yalouri, and other scholars mentioned above and suggest other avenues for research, some of which are explored in our volume.

Hellenomania seeks to expand discussion of the reception of Greek material culture beyond these areas and to open it out towards a wider arena of creative cultural practices. While our contributors discuss a variety of the more traditional arts—from architecture to stage and costume design, painting, sculpture, dance, cinema, and literature—they also draw attention to craft techniques and multi-media poetic performance, and cover themes such as family history and self-fashioning in everyday life (see especially the complementary chapters by Leontis and Sikelianos). Although we aim at redressing the balance between textual and material receptions, we also hope to underline the rich entanglements between words and objects, real and ideal, flesh and spirit, the Hellenic and non-Hellenic.

Themes and structure of volume

Ultimately, then, in our volume *Hellenomania* is used not in the narrower and polemical sense defined by Bernal, but in a way closer to some current definitions of *Egyptomania* (as well as *Cretomania* and *Byzantinomania*): as a desire and obsession that is often expressed through

a borrowing, of the most spectacular elements, from the grammar of ornament that is the original essence of ancient . . . art; these decorative elements are then given a new life through new uses . . . [where] artists must 're-create' them in the cauldron of their own sensibility and in the context of their times, or must give them an appearance of renewed vitality, a function other than the purpose for which they were originally intended.⁴⁰

These borrowings and revitalisations are not limited to the traditional arts, but involve materiality more generally, and encompass a wide variety of cultural practices, including art and architecture, craftsmanship, fashioning of the self and the body, and practices of *askesis* and culture.

We highlight how different waves and frequencies of *Hellenomania* may be prompted by new archaeological discoveries (whether display in public and private collections or excavations, from the arrival of the Elgin/Parthenon marbles in London, to the discovery of the Tanagra figurines, and even the

excavations of Pompeii and Herculaneum, which also prompted new imaginings of Greece). But we also show how they may relate to changing tastes, fashions, and priorities in the present, and how new technological possibilities and mechanical reproductions (from theatre to cinema, from black and white to colour representations, and from stillness to movement) have affected the ways in which the Greek past is experienced, represented, and conceptualised.

It would be impossible for a single volume to provide comprehensive coverage of such a long-lasting and variegated phenomenon. In the following chapters we present a series of intriguing and varied modern examples, spanning the seventeenth century (Macintosh) to the present day (Sikelianos). They have been selected to illustrate the pervasiveness of Greek ideals across times and places and to indicate some of the junctures at which Hellenomania has proved especially potent. The sections into which the volume is divided in one way reflect a periodisation of Hellenomania; in other ways, however, they cut across chronology, highlighting significant preoccupations and themes that recur throughout Hellenomania's history.

Our collection of chapters begins with a section ('Hellenomanias from early modern to modernism') that examines sources and derivations of Hellenomania from the Baroque and pre-Romantic periods, to the early twentieth century. Although covering more canonical material (Winckelmann, Keats, Ruskin, Pater) than the following sections, it also extends discussion to less familiar figures (Burney) and moments (the Baroque stage), and sets the scene for the illustrations of successive waves of Hellenomania explored in subsequent papers. Chapter 1, by Fiona Macintosh, brings out the importance of reception of ancient material culture to early modern technological innovation and the idea of the unity of the arts by focusing on the ground-breaking scenography of Inigo Jones, who was active in a period when the neat distinction between Greek and Roman had not yet emerged. Chapter 2, by Katherine Harloe, focuses on Winckelmann: a scholar who must surely find a place in any collection on 'Hellenomania' because of his status as a father figure within the disciplines of history of art and classical archaeology and his undeniable role in stimulating the later eighteenth-century European craze for the Greek. Harloe focuses upon a persistent tradition, starting with Diderot in the 1760s, of portraying Winckelmann himself as a fanatic, maniacal, and quixotic figure, whether this is construed positively as evidence of his passionate devotion to ancient Hellas, or negatively as either a failure of scholarly objectivity or a character flaw that contributed to his brutal and untimely death. Chapter 3, by Richard Jenkyns, surveys English literary responses to Greek material culture in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (from Keats and Hazlitt to MacNeice), highlighting how the Parthenon marbles' arrival in London disturbed or complicated Winckelmannian notions of Greek beauty.

The next two sections group chapters that bear witness to recurring themes, exploring tensions between conceptions of Greece as real and ideal, between imagination and experience, ancient abstraction (whiteness, death,

stillness) and modernity (colour, life, movement). The second section ('Ideal and real structures of Hellenomania') collects contributions that focus on appropriations of ancient Greek material culture in the built environment—mostly architecture—and examine how modern designers and builders have responded to and adapted ancient Greek traditions. In Chapter 4, Frank Salmon discusses classicising British architecture in the period c.1751–1851, demonstrating how literary sources and a certain, powerful conviction of the ideal proportions of Greek 'art' affected the allegedly empirical measurement and recording of classical Greek monuments by Stuart, Revett, and their followers. In Chapters 5 and 6, which complement each other closely, Athena Leoussi and Lena Lambrinou explore how idealisations of ancient Greek physicality, freedom, and democracy influenced not only the architecture of public buildings in Europe and North America, but also the very bodies of individual citizens. This section concludes with a chapter by David Watkin (Chapter 7), which provides an overview of contemporary British architecture inspired by ancient Greece and sets it in the context of earlier 'Greek Revivals'.

The third section ('Hellenomania comes to life—colour, movement, and the body') explores challenges to traditional representations and idealisations of ancient Greece through the transformative power of colour, movement, and the (gendered) body. Chapter 8, by Charlotte Ribeyrol, traces how the accumulation of material evidence concerning the polychromy of ancient Greek statues and temples, and particularly the discovery at Tanagra of ancient Greek figurines bearing traces of originally bright colours, helped Victorian artists to break away from a purely philological approach to Greek antiquity and produce different 'translations' of Greek ideas. These translations were not just between one language and another, but also from text to image and from one visual medium (sculpture) to another (painting). By showing how earlier pictorial representations of female figures by Whistler and Moore prepared the ground for the enthusiastic nineteenth-century reception of recently unearthed Tanagra figurines, Ribeyrol also illustrates the two-way traffic between artistic and scholarly receptions. Pantelis Michelakis's chapter (9) also addresses colour and movement, examining how the invention of cinema and the emergence of certain forms of modern dance at the end of the nineteenth century mark a significant juncture (one might even call it a 'sensorial and ephemeral turn') in the conceptualisation and experience of ancient Greece in the modern world. He offers a fascinating contextual discussion and analysis of the 'Grecian dance' scene in Charlie Chaplin's film *Sunnyside*: a Greek fantasy presented as a dream-like and temporary escape from the frantic rhythms of modern life or, in Michelakis's words, the 'corporeal catastrophe of modernity'.⁴¹

Leontis's and Sikelianos' chapters (10, 11) are linked by the figure of Eva Palmer Sikelianos, American heiress, first wife of the poet Angelos Sikelianos, and initiator with him of a modern revival of the Delphic Festivals. The two festivals the couple organised, in 1927 and 1930, aimed at reviving a Delphic ideal of peace and harmony, and included theatrical performances, concerts,

dance, athletic contests, and exhibitions of folk art. Leontis explores how Eva Palmer Sikelianos made her own body a vessel of Greek reception by designing, weaving, and wearing a style of dress inspired by ideas of ancient Greek simplicity. Her experimental (indeed, anachronistic) recreations of ancient Greek clothing, and her idealistic attempt to persuade Greek women to follow in her footsteps, were her own antidote to European crypto-colonialism and industrialism, a way of rejecting machine-made garments and reviving classical timelessness. Eleni Sikelianos's chapter (which should be read in conjunction with her audio file)⁴² is inspired by the utopian vision of her great grandparents, Eva and Angelos, in reviving the Delphic Festivals. In her poetry the ancient Greek past acts as a vehicle both to explore her own family history and to reflect upon the impossibility of recovering it, as well as to ask broader questions about time, destruction, and the environment which mark her work, in both content and media, as a product of late modernity. Winkler's chapter (12) returns to issues of real and ideal, stillness and movement, and translation from one medium (sculpture) to another (cinema) by discussing incarnations and transformations of the famous Venus de Milo in various films, especially *One Touch of Venus* (1948), starring Ava Gardner.

Our volume starts with Inigo Jones and a period when the neat distinction between Greek and Roman familiar to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century scholarship had not yet been fully articulated. It ends, in something of a ring-composition, with a pair of contributions that again query that boundary. The two chapters (13, 14) that make up the fourth and final section ('Beyond Hellenomania?') bring our investigations into the present, offer a glance at the future, and focus on the homeland of Hellenomaniac discourse: contemporary Greece. Chapter 13, by Esther Solomon and Styliana Galiniki, indicates how fascination with the material culture of ancient Greece might move beyond the pure obsessions of classicising Hellenism by tracing the reception history of a group of Roman statues (the *Incantadas* of Thessaloniki), which have sometimes been claimed as essentially 'Greek', but have in reality been significant for and appropriated by many different peoples. By drawing attention to this blurred and hybrid example, they reopen the possibility of a Greek past (and present) that is far from 'Hellenomaniac' in Bernal's sense. In addition to offering a critical commentary on the other chapters, Eleana Yalouri's afterword (Chapter 14) explores the ramifications of emergent Hellenomaniac discourses evident in Greece today. She reflects upon documenta 14, the international contemporary art exhibition taking place from April–September 2017 in Athens and June–September 2017 in Kassel, Germany. In her analysis of this exhibition Yalouri does not fail to find some old tropes of Hellenism recycled, yet she also detects some very new, and rather different, 'translations, appropriations and aspirations'.⁴³ Both her analysis and her decision to use the term 'Graecomania', for what may be current and future waves or mutations of Hellenomania, point, once again, to a growing interest in hybridity rather than purity.

In the context not only of hybrid versus purist Hellenomania, but also of the recent economic Greek crisis, it is ironic that documenta is of German origins.⁴⁴ Also ironic is the fact that, as this volume went to press, the exhibition was subject to critiques in relation to the contemporary economic and refugee crisis in Greece, and Germany's role in it, and that a group's discontent was expressed by stealing an artwork, which is a replica of the ancient stone where Athenian magistrates took their oath of office.⁴⁵

Our collection thus shows how tracing and comparing waves of Hellenomania across time and space reveals the recurrent resurgence of an imagined and idealised Greece as an alternative to the present and as a catalyst for contemporary criticism and change, whether on an individual or socio-political level. This imagined antiquity has repeatedly functioned as an ideal 'other' in the context of historical actors' aspirations either to understand the genesis of their own present or to exchange that present for something conceived of as better (non-Roman, non-medieval, non-Baroque, etc.). Studying Hellenomania allows us to explore how this image has been constructed, challenged, and reinvented; how tensions and dynamics between the ideal and the real, the pure and the synthesised or hybrid, recur across individual, local, national, and international boundaries and extend beyond a concern with ancient material objects themselves to new and creative Hellenomaniac experiments in the visual and verbal arts, the built environment, and even the human body.

Do the example of the *Incantadas* and the present-day interest in hybridity evident in contemporary presentation of the ancient world in the spheres of both scholarship and cultural heritage indicate that the type of Hellenomania that cast Greece as a locus of idealised purity set against modern times is now dead and gone? This volume shows that the answer is no. The engagements explored in our collection demonstrate that to investigate the history of Hellenomania is not merely to excavate the past, but to expose a living tradition, which diversifies and generates new offshoots even in the present day. Perhaps it is even more appropriate to say that Hellenomania moves like a wave, in ebbs and flows. New hybrids and mutations are possible, just as new surfs breaking on the seashore may bring returns but also new admixtures from the deep.

Notes

- 1 Momigliano and Farnoux (2017).
- 2 As the contributions to *Cretomania* show, however, many interpretations and responses to Minoan material culture have been influenced by modern readings of Greek and Roman literary texts that relate stories set in Bronze Age Crete.
- 3 For medieval and Renaissance collecting of things Byzantine see, for example, Cormack and Jeffreys (2000); Drandraki et al. (2013). For the role of Byzantium

- for the emergence of Russia see, for example, Meyendorff (2010). For the emergence of a particular wave of 'Byzantinomania' in the early nineteenth century, when Byzantium began to be revisited, and revitalised, as a source of interest and inspiration for a variety of artistic and creative cultural practices, ranging from painting to art criticism, see Bullen (2003).
- 4 Bernal (1987), where Chapter VI (covering the period c.1790–1830) and Chapter VII (covering the period c.1830–1860) are respectively entitled Hellenomania 1 and 2. Though 'race' is the ideological category most extensively discussed in Bernal's work and in responses to it, he also identified religious polemic as playing a crucial role in Hellenomania. See for example his characterisation of the pivotal years 1815–1830 as 'years of Romanticism and Christian revival': Bernal (1987) 31.
 - 5 See e.g. Bernal (1987) 26–7.
 - 6 Bernal (1987) 209–10, 212–23. At p. 213 Bernal approvingly quotes Pfeiffer's (1976) 170 verdict on this generation: 'A break was made with the Latin tradition of humanism and an entirely new humanism, a true new Hellenism, grew up. Winckelmann was the initiator, Goethe the consummator, Wilhelm von Humboldt, in his linguistic, historical and educational writings, the theorist. Finally, Humboldt's ideas were given practical effect when he became Prussian Minister of Education and founded the new university of Berlin and the new humanistic gymnasium.' For a different use of the term Neo-Hellenism, see Leontis (1995) 6 and below, note 18.
 - 7 OED headword: 'Hellenism'; biblical citations 2 Maccabees 4.13, Acts 6.1, 9.29 (the Authorized/King James translation is however 'Grecians').
 - 8 The presentation of German Hellenism/Hellenomania as a disease also continues a trope introduced into Anglophone discussions of modern German cultural history as early as Eliza M. Butler's *The Tyranny of Greece over Germany* (1935).
 - 9 Bernal and Moore (2001) 196. The word 'Hellenomania' has not been included, as yet, in the Oxford English Dictionary (online) (consulted in March 2017).
 - 10 Jackson (1961).
 - 11 See, e.g. Marchand (1996), Wallace (1997), Güthenke (2008), Tziovas (2014a). Despite the well-known instability and variety in definitions of 'Romanticism' (see e.g. Halmi 2013, 363–8) this category has undoubtedly proved useful for indicating distinctive and shared elements of the new turn to Greece (both ancient and modern) among particular groups of poets, scholars and artists in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Europe. In this volume, 'Romantic Hellenism' is represented in the chapters by Harloe, focusing on Winckelmann (who is sometimes cast as a significant ancestor of Romantic Hellenism, but sometimes as an adherent to an earlier Neoclassical aesthetic, against which the Romantics reacted) and Jenkyns, who includes discussion of Keats and Hazlitt's responses to the Elgin Marbles.
 - 12 *Iliad* II. 683–4: οἱ τ' εἶχον Φθίην ἥδ' Ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναικα,/Μυρμιδόνες δὲ καλεῦντο καὶ Ἕλληνες καὶ Ἀχαιοί ('those who possessed Phthia and Hellas with its beautiful women/ and were called Myrmidons and Hellenes and

- Achaïans'). On the other hand, the formula Ἑλλάς καὶ μέσον Ἄργος ('Hellas and midmost Argos') appears to denote the whole of Greece: see Sherratt (2010). For a meditation on Herodotus 8.144 in relation to the theme of Hellenism see Zacharias (2008) (in an edited volume that contains many other chapters relevant to our theme).
- 13 For some theoretical discussions of ethnicity, see Jenkins (2008) and, with reference to the ancient world, Jones (1997) and Hall (2002).
 - 14 On the Paleologian period as the 'last Byzantine renaissance' see Runciman (1970); on Byzantine Hellenism and its transformation in Italy see, respectively, Kaldellis (2007) and Lamers (2015); on Greekness, Hellenicity, and Hellenism see e.g. Gourgouris (1996); Hall (2002); Hamilakis (2007, 2009); Kitromilidis (2013).
 - 15 As in Strabo: see Zacharias (2008) 1.
 - 16 Momigliano (1970) 142–3. See also Momigliano (1955b, 1955c).
 - 17 Momigliano (1970).
 - 18 Herzfeld (2002). For notions of western cultural colonialism in modern Greece see, e.g. Leontis (1995); Gourgouris (1996); Tziouvas (2014a), all with further bibliography. Leontis (1995), in her influential work, has discussed various Hellenisms and their relationships, such as Hellenism (as the quixotic enterprise of the study of Hellas); Philhellenism (as the non-Greek sympathy for modern Greeks, particularly their fight for emancipation from Ottoman rule); 'Neohellenism' (as the ideology of a Hellenic national culture that emerged after Greece became an independent state); and 'Hellenic Hellenism' (i.e. Giorgos Seferis's coinage of the phrase *'Ellinikos Ellenismos'*, to indicate the development, by contemporary Greeks, of a modern Hellenism of Hellenic aesthetic values—an Hellenism that was both rooted in the soil of Greece, but also inspired by a long tradition that extended well beyond the physical boundaries of Greece, and could even draw some inspiration from western European Hellenism). For western and 'indigenous Hellenism', see Hamilakis (2007) and also below.
 - 19 For the parallel point about modern western scholarship on Hebraic antiquity see Hess (2002).
 - 20 Leontis (1995) 224. A recent example of this Greek marginalisation is the book on the Parthenon by Mary Beard (2002), which includes references to many western travellers, and even to the Turkish traveller Evliya Çelebi, but largely overlooks Greek views. On this point see also Petsalis-Diomidis (2003).
 - 21 The bibliography on the 'Greek Crisis' and related developments, such as the 'December events' of 2008 and more recent ones, is constantly expanding at a rapid pace. Good places to begin are the numerous articles published in *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* vol. 28, no. 2, October 2010, and Yalouri's chapter in this volume, with further references. See also note 22 below.
 - 22 On the twenty-first-century rhetoric of disparagement and its similarity to earlier narratives see, e.g., Lalaki 2016; see also Yalouri (2014a); Hamilakis (2016).
 - 23 Dan Bilefsky and Niki Kitsantonis, 'Greek Civil Servants Strike Over Austerity', *The New York Times*, February 11, 2010 (www.nytimes.com/2010/02/11/world/europe/11greece.html), also cited in Lalaki (2012) 552 and Lalaki (2016) 24. The

gift of democracy trope can also be found in other discussions of the 'Greek crisis', such as Douzinas's article 'The Greek Tragedy', which concludes that Greek resistance to neo-liberal capitalism and fight for social justice could be 'a service to the world as important as that of the invention of democracy': Douzinas (2010) 291.

- 24 See, e.g. Leontis (1995). For more recent discussions of Hellenism see other works cited below as well as the collection of interviews on 'Rethinking Greece' (www.facebook.com/RethinkinGreece/), and the 2014 conference held in Sydney titled 'Un-framing Hellenism. Greek culture after the crisis': http://sydney.edu.au/arts/modern_greek/downloads/MGSAANZ_conference_program.pdf (both accessed in January and April 2017).
- 25 Hamilakis (2007) esp. 112–23; see also Hamilakis (2009).
- 26 Hamilakis (2007) 112–23; Hamilakis (2009).
- 27 See, e.g. Yalouri (2001); Loukaki (2008); Damaskos and Plantzos (2008); see also Hamilakis 2014.
- 28 Tziouvas (2014a)
- 29 Tziouvas (2014b) 1.
- 30 Several of the scholars named above were invited but unable to participate in the symposium that led to this collection; others attended and participated in the symposium discussions but were unable to contribute to this volume. Some other recent works on Greece that pay attention to material culture include Goldhill (2002, 2011), Prettejohn (2012), and those mentioned in notes below.
- 31 Freud 1936. For an interesting recent discussion of Freud on the Acropolis see Leonard (2012) 177–216.
- 32 See Macintosh, Jenkyns, Salmon, Leoussi, Lambrinou, and Solomon and Galiniki.
- 33 On Mediterraneanism see, e.g. Herzfeld (1984, 2005). On the tension between universalist and ethnically particular Hellenomanias see especially Leoussi in this volume.
- 34 See, e.g., the papers in the issue on materials and materiality in volume 14, issue 1 of the periodical *Archaeological Dialogues* (June 2007); Yalouri (2014b).
- 35 For seminal books showing the increasing importance of materiality in several disciplines also e.g. Latour (2005); Miller (2005); Ingold (2007); Hodder (2012), with further references. See also Yalouri (this volume).
- 36 For 'material turn' and 'material-culture turn' see e.g. Bennett and Joyce (2010) and Hicks (2010), respectively. See also references in previous two notes and Yalouri (this volume).
- 37 For Pompeii see, e.g., Hales and Paul (2011); Gardner Coates et al. (2012); for films see, e.g., Paul (2013), Michelakis (2013), Nikoloutsos (2013).
- 38 For modern receptions of the antique see, for example, Coltman (2006), Nichols (2015), as well as the earlier volume by Pomian (1987). For early modern antiquarianism, see, for example, Heringman (2013), Harloe (2013). For heritage in the context of imperialism, see, for example, Swenson and Mandler (2013).

- 39 Tziovas (2014a).
- 40 Humbert (1994) 21.
- 41 See below, p. 194.
- 42 Available via the British School at Athens YouTube channel (<http://youtu.be/GqCIgvvnLIQ>)
- 43 See below, p. 319.
- 44 See documenta official website: www.documenta.de/en/# (consulted in March and May 2017), where it is reported that the aim of the initiative, which started in 1955, was 'to bring Germany back into dialogue with the rest of the world after the end of World War II, and to connect the [contemporary] international art scene'.
- 45 See 'LGBTQ Refugee Rights Group Steals Artwork from Documenta in Athens' https://hyperallergic.com/382407/lgbtq-refugee-rights-group-steals-artwork-from-documenta-in-athens/?utm_source=facebook&utm_medium=social&utm_campaign=sw (consulted 1 July 2017).

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PART 1
Hellenomanias from early
modern to modernism



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Modern stage design and Greek antiquity: Inigo Jones and his Greek models

Fiona Macintosh

There are numerous examples of the ways in which encounters with ancient Greek material culture have inspired innovation in modern scenic design and performance styles. Léon Bakst's trips to Greece in the first decade of the twentieth century, which resulted in his now-iconic designs for the Ballets Russes' *Narcisse*, *L'après midi d'un faune* and *Daphnis and Chloé*, fuelled a huge wave of Modernist energy devoted to the translation of ideas of Greekness onto the stage;¹ and Nijinsky's black-figure, profile dance movements against these designs in turn led to numerous dancing choruses that resembled animated Greek friezes.² Equally transformative in terms of theatrical design were the sketches and objects brought back to northern Europe from the Grand Tour in the early seventeenth century, which laid the foundations for the experiments of the nineteenth-century stage historicists, such as those of J. R. Planché and Charles Kean.³

This chapter seeks to shed light on the earlier, less discussed Jacobean and Caroline period during which the trade in antiquities led to a huge burst in technological experimentation in scenic design. It focuses, above all, on the stage designs of Inigo Jones and their Greek models, which Jones encountered both in Italy on the Grand Tour and in the London house of his patron, Lord Arundel.

The unity of the arts in early modern England

From 1598, when George Chapman's translations of Homer's *Iliad* began to appear in print, until 1616, when his complete translations of both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were published, there was a period of extraordinary creative energy and achievement in the English theatre. In many ways, Greek epic as mediated by Chapman informed the content and the form of the new drama. Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* (1602) and Thomas Heywood's three plays, *The Golden Age* (1611), *The Silver Age* (1613), and *The Brazen Age* (1613), where Blind Homer appears in person, all look in various ways to Chapman's

translations.⁴ Chapman's translation of the *Odyssey*, especially, unleashed generic innovation legitimising an alternative to comedy and tragedy in Shakespeare's 'Romance' drama. Furthermore, the epic simile provided the dramatic soliloquy with new creative opportunities and exciting possibilities for examining and defining interiority and selfhood.⁵ The Court Masques in England from 1604–1640 equally benefited from this new source material and from the formal innovations they afforded.

Literary encounters with Greek antiquity were by no means separate from other creative engagements with the ancient world, at a time when voyages of discovery were opening up new realms of experience to both travellers and audiences at home. As Frances Yates argued many years ago, during this period it is important to speak of the 'sister arts' rather than literary texts in isolation.⁶ In Italy Homer was discovered in both text and art, from Petrarch's acquisition of a Greek manuscript of Homer in the early 1350s to the publication of Niccolò della Valle's Latin translation of the *Iliad* in 1510, which spawned numerous refigurations in literature and the visual arts.⁷ Chapman recognised the creative interdependence of the sister arts and he dedicated his translation of Musaeus (published in the same year as his complete Homer translations) to the architect and stage designer, Inigo Jones. Jones and Chapman were close friends and had collaborated a few years earlier, in 1613, on *The Memorable Masque [for] . . . the Inns of Court* (published in 1614). Chapman's dedication fully acknowledges the breadth and depth of his friend's knowledge of antiquity, singling out Jones, 'especially for your most ingenuous (sic) Love to all Workes, in which ancient Greek Soules have appear'd to you'.⁸ For if Chapman's translations of Homeric epics brought about exciting textual innovations in the theatre, Jones brought about equally significant and wide-ranging scenic innovations through his own translations of ancient Greek material culture into his stage designs.

The translations of the Homeric epics had ushered into the modern world immanent, though frequently absent, pagan gods, who occasionally arrived to resolve human crises. If the medieval period saw the Greco-Roman pantheon through a contemporary lens, with gods dressed as medieval monks, by the late fifteenth century the ancient gods resembled the Greco-Roman statues that were beginning to be excavated in Italy.⁹ Now in the English Masques at Court, where the pagan deities were invoked at critical junctures, complex machinery (as in the ancient theatre) was required to facilitate their entries and exits. But it wasn't simply stage machinery that linked poetry and theatre architecture at this time; it was also, according to Chapman building on the Horatian paradigm *ut architectura poesis*, a pattern of form in both ancient poetry and ancient architecture, which Jones, 'by whom Both are apprehended: and [by whom] their beames worthily measur'd and valew'd'.¹⁰

The sketches and objects brought back from southern Europe by Jones's patron, 'The Collector Earl', Thomas Howard, Fourteenth Earl of Arundel, and by his entourage in the first few decades of the seventeenth century contributed significantly to a transformation in British architectural and scenic

styles.¹¹ They also contributed to the first modern realisation of that ancient theatrical synthesis of the arts—of scenery, words, music, and movement. It is often maintained that this unity of the arts was a distinctly eighteenth-century aspiration, only attempted in the modern world by the partnership of the composer, Christoph Willibald Gluck, and the choreographer, Jean-Georges Noverre, in the wake of the institutional division of the arts at the end of the seventeenth century.¹² Through collaborations on the *Masque*, Jones, together with Chapman but predominantly with the poet/playwright Ben Jonson, produced a synthesis of the arts that Jones, in particular (as Chapman acknowledges in his dedication), had gleaned from a ‘love to all Workes, in which ancient Greek Soules [had] appeared to [him]’.

Jones and the early grand tour

After the relative isolation of England from wider European cultural developments in the late Elizabethan period, new opportunities for the understanding of a shared European inheritance emerged following the accession of James I of England (James VI of Scotland).¹³ The Treaty of London of 1604, which brought peace with Spain, meant that travel to southern Europe (especially Italy, which had been under Spanish viceroys and so out of bounds) was now possible. Early travellers were often, not surprisingly Catholic in sympathy if not in practice, and were prompted by a desire to compare European political and cultural practices.¹⁴ By 1605 Jones is referred to as a ‘great traveller’,¹⁵ and it is likely that he first went to continental Europe around 1598 or even earlier, and returned in 1609 as tutor and guide to the young Viscount Cranbourne on a tour of France, that took in the chateaux of the Loire Valley and the Roman sites at Nîmes and Orange.¹⁶

In 1613–1614 Jones enjoyed a lengthy period on the continent as a member of the entourage of his patron Arundel, mostly in Italy where they travelled as far south as Naples. It was during this trip that Arundel began seriously to collect antiquities, including probably the marble statue known as ‘Homerus’, which dates from sometime between the third and first centuries BC (Figure 1.1). It was during this trip that Arundel was also granted permission to excavate in Rome.¹⁷ As Guilding points out: ‘By building . . . authentic relics of the past into their lives . . . [the English aristocracy] appropriated their ancient authority and added to their own’.¹⁸

Arundel had a particularly urgent need to reconstitute his past, which had been sundered with the sequestration of his family estates by Elizabeth following his father’s imprisonment in the Tower of London as a Catholic rebel. It was not until the Collector Earl’s conversion to Protestantism in 1621 and his resumption of the title of Earl Marshal of England, signalled in Daniel Mytens’s painting (c.1618) by his baton (Figure 1.2), that he was able to buy back the family seat at Arundel.¹⁹ But from the first decade of the new

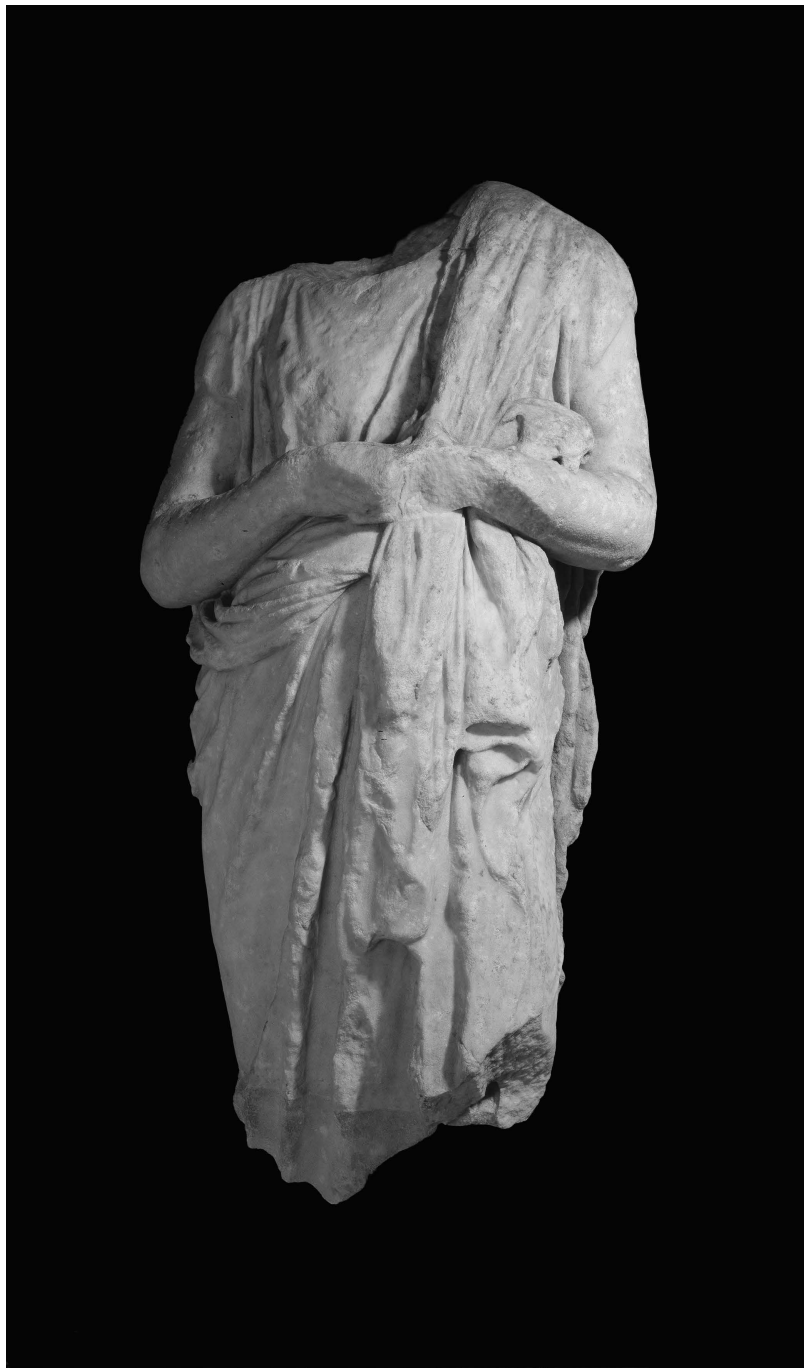


Figure 1.1 The Arundel 'Homerus'

Source: Ashmolean AN 1984.45



Figure 1.2 Thomas Howard, Fourteenth Earl of Arundel by Daniel Mytens
(oil on canvas, c.1618) NPG 5292

Source: National Portrait Gallery

century, Arundel, who had never met his father because he died in captivity in the Tower, was establishing himself as a patron of learning. As Henry Peacham wrote in *The Compleat Gentleman* (first edition 1622; second edition 1634), Arundel 'transplant[ed] Olde Greeke in to England' in Arundel House at the west end of the Strand in London.²⁰

Amongst the marble statues in the atrium in Arundel House, as painted by Mytens, it is possible to identify Homer, Bacchus, Venus, and Eros.²¹ Peacham praises the marbles in Arundel's collection not as 'ideals' (as Winckelmann would do a hundred years later) but because they bring the past to life so that the viewer has 'the pleasure of seeing and conversing with these old heroes'.²² The ancient past here is no post-Romantic foreign country: instead it is immanent and informative at one and the same time. That the viewing of the marbles is of serious intent is borne out by Peacham's observation of the Greek and Latin inscriptions:

You shall find all the walls of the house inlaid with them and speaking Greek and Latin to you. The garden especially will afford you the pleasure of a world of learned lectures of this kind.²³

Almost immediately after the inscriptions arrived in London early in 1627, John Selden began to decipher them and to translate the Greek into Latin, which appeared shortly after as *Marmora Arundeliana* (1628).

'The Collector Earl' in the house Jones designed for him in the Strand in 1618 is understood to yoke past and present. By housing his collection of antiquities in a newly built atrium, Arundel deliberately linked his family history to that of antiquity. Mytens's portrait of his wife Aletheia, daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury, who brought with her the fortune that allowed Arundel to amass his antiquities collection and restore his family estates, demonstrates the family's links to Tudor history (Figure 1.3).²⁴ Through the juxtaposition of ancient Graeco-Roman portraiture and Tudor portraiture, the Arundel/Howard line extends way back without rupture and now with restored pride.

From the 1620s onwards, with the help of his clergyman-turned-agent William Petty, Arundel started buying marble statues (he saw the value, unlike his contemporaries, of the fragment) and inscriptions from Asia Minor and the islands off the coast.²⁵ As for eighteenth-century collectors, agents/*agents provocateurs* were essential to the seventeenth-century would-be collector;²⁶ and Petty was proficient at seeing off his rivals (such as the agents working for the Duke of Buckingham) as well as skilled in negotiation with local traders. Since it was common practice at the time to lop off the limb of a giant statue too big for transportation, limbs were happily severed and kept for future replacement once the consignment reached its destination.²⁷

The act of collecting, however chaotic and corrupt, was inextricably linked to personal politics, as the Mytens's portraits make clear. But it was equally linked to wider cultural politics in the wake of the Reformation when visual



Figure 1.3 Aletheia Talbot, Countess of Arundel by Daniel Mytens (oil on canvas, c.1618) NPG 5293

Source: National Portrait Gallery

culture (albeit to a lesser extent in England than in the Low Countries and in the German-speaking states) had temporarily lost its status in relation to the word. Now Arundel and his Catholic(-sympathiser) contemporaries on the Grand Tour were rectifying that imbalance in their pursuit of ancient Greek and Roman material culture.²⁸ James I came to see the marbles in Arundel House in 1624; and Charles I provided the best form of flattery for Arundel some years later, when he started his own antiquities collection.²⁹

Jones versus Jonson

For Jones architecture and scenic design, as they had been for Vitruvius, were inextricably linked;³⁰ and his designs for the theatre often fed into the designs for buildings and gardens.³¹ Jones's designs for the theatre, mostly for the masques at court from 1604–1640, provided an experimental space for all the major developments in stage technology that were to last for the next two hundred and fifty years in the British theatre. It was Jones who introduced to the British stage perspectival scenery, which had been seen in Italy since the early sixteenth century.³² He was the first person to consult archaeological sources for his costume designs; and it wasn't until 1834 with the publication of J. R. Planché's *History of British Costume* that such attention was once again paid to historical accuracy. Jones, following not only Vitruvius but also Serlio's *Architettura* (1545; translated into English in 1611), introduced innovations in stage machinery, including scenes of painted flats set in grooves on stage which opened in sequence to reveal varied scenes, cloud machines, and flying devices for apotheoses.³³ Jones is also credited with the creation of the proscenium stage, designed to hide the machinery until it was needed, in a hall, where the set had to be quickly erected and taken down. In Jones and Jonson's masque for the marriage celebrations of Robert Devereux to Frances Howard, *Hymenaei, or The Solemnities of Masque . . .* (1606), two golden statues of Hercules and Atlas marked either side of the rear of the stage, and with a curtain suspended from the roof, they furnished a frame for the scene.³⁴

Even though Vitruvius links both perspectival painting and machines with Greek theatre,³⁵ Italian perspective painting, which had been in existence since the beginning of the sixteenth century, was clearly not linked to the Greek theatre. But for Jones and his contemporaries, these technical innovations whilst not necessarily intrinsically Greek were nonetheless always underpinned by ancient authority. As Jonson says in the Preface to *Hymenaei* (1606), the effects of the masques must be 'grounded upon Antiquitie, and solide Learnings'.³⁶ The designs themselves, moreover, regularly incorporated actual objects from Greco-Roman antiquity and especially the objects brought back from Greece and Rome by Arundel's agent, Petty.

Jones was not only known as a great traveller by 1605, he was also recognised as sufficiently learned to be invited to stage a series of classical plays

that year at Christ Church College, Oxford for performance in front of James I. Whether he had already visited Vicenza or not by this time—he definitely visited the theatre during his 1613–1614 tour³⁷—he would have been fully aware of the 1585 inaugural production of the *Edipo Re* in the Teatro Olimpico. This was the first serious attempt in the modern world to stage an ancient Greek tragedy, with lavish spectacle and music by one of Italy's most eminent composers, Andrea Gabrieli.³⁸ In Oxford, there was a similar desire to revive the spirit of antiquity, and especially the Festival of Dionysus. There were performances of a satyr play entitled *Alba* (27 August), based on the Ovidian account of Pomona and Vertumnus's various encounters; a Latin version of Sophocles's *Ajax*, *Ajax Flagellifer* (28 August); a comedy, *Vertumnus* (29 August); and a concluding play in English by Daniel, *Arcadia Returned*. As with the *Edipo Re* at the Teatro Olimpico, the performances in Oxford are well documented by an eye-witness account in Latin from Isaac Wake.³⁹ In Oxford, Jones followed Vitruvius with costumes in 'antique fashion'; and in the *Ajax*, at least, he used a perspectival set for the first time in England. He also followed Vitruvius in his use of a *scena versatilis*, consisting of *periaktoi*, which effected at least two changes of scene (paralleling the changes of 'focus' in the Sophoclean version) during the course of the tragedy.⁴⁰

The Oxford stagings proved to be an important 'academic' testing ground for Jones.⁴¹ If the Christ Church plays strove to revive both the form and content of the ancient Greek drama and to replicate at least some of its context, when Jones collaborated with the poet/playwright Ben Jonson in the stagings of Court Masques from 1605–1631, the aim was very far from any reconstruction of antiquity. Instead, it was an ancient synthesis of the arts that the masques afforded; and juxtapositions of ancient and modern (as with Mytens's two portraits) were a means of establishing and affirming links between past and present. In marked contrast, however, to both the *Edipo Re* at Vicenza and the plays at Christ Church, the Stuart Masque (more along the lines of ancient Greece, where the poet 'taught' both the actors and the chorus) granted a role to the dancing master that was no less prominent than the roles of poet, composer, and designer in the performance.

The relationship between Jonson and Jones was often stormy and ultimately severed by, amongst other things, their differences concerning the relative value of word and image and the primacy of their own roles within the masques.⁴² Jonson at the height of their dispute mordantly satirised Jones's position through the figure of Poet in his *Expostulation with Inigo Jones*: 'O shows! Show! Mighty shows! / The eloquence of Masques! What need of prose / Or verse, or sense, t'express immortal you!'.⁴³ Jonson here is railing against what he sees as the increasing monomania of Jones, the designer; and there is a very real sense in which the masques evidenced both the court's conspicuous consumption and the glorification of the monarch. Whilst the negative associations of the theatre with excess begin with the Stuart masques, extravagance here was in many ways considered by the aristocracy a virtue as

it expressed the monarch's magnanimity.⁴⁴ The stages were erected at one end of a long hall, and the perspectival scenery was designed for the central viewing point that was the throne. The carpeted area in front of the stage served as a kind of *orchestra* for the dancers and the musicians and ultimately for those audience members who were invited at the end of the masque to join in the 'revels'. Jones, in Jonson's caricature, had committed the ultimate heresy in this monarchical form by usurping the role reserved for the monarch within it.

However, since the masque was both *about* concealment (masque/maske are used interchangeably at this time), revelation and transformation, as well as *an expression* of them, the visual always mattered and the technology was necessary to effect those moments of revelation and transformation.⁴⁵ The Florentine Neo-Platonic Marsilio Ficino had identified the model of the heavenly spheres behind the stage machinery; and the technology was therefore a demonstration of 'the essential divinity of the human mind' and its mastery over the natural world.⁴⁶ The aim of the masque was to transform the mind by 'creating a model of the universe and bringing it under rational control'.⁴⁷ If the masque dealt with the quotidian at all, it did so through the anti-masque, which prefaced the masque proper and was performed by professional actors. The hyper-real—the world of wonder and revelation that alone, according to Aristotle, justified the use of the *deus ex machina*⁴⁸—is the true preserve of the masque. The masquers' roles were played by courtiers, who danced rather than spoke, and who at the end of the masque took partners from the audience; and their mute danced roles were decoded for the audience by the allegorical figures, whose speaking roles were taken by professional actors. The masque was never a predominantly verbal medium—just as ancient drama had never been; it is simply that the extant evidence often leads scholars to forget that the visual, musical, and bodily accompaniment were not just highly praised, they were also as central to meaning as the word.

Jones is urging, through his encounter with ancient material culture, a new understanding of the role of the visual; just as he introduces perspectival scene painting, he is promoting new ways of seeing more generally.⁴⁹ As early as 1606, Edmund Bolton wrote a dedication inside a gift to Jones exhorting him to bring 'all that is praiseworthy in the elegant arts of the ancients . . . across the Alps into our England'.⁵⁰ Bolton is urging Jones to act as mediator/Mercury between the arts of antiquity and modernity, as Arundel will later become. And Jones indeed begins to see his role as a kind of Mercury/Hermes figure who effects transformations, both within the masques themselves and more generally in the wider civic spaces of London through his architectural designs that are equally inspired by Greco-Roman antiquity. As imitator of the arts of antiquity, Jones is no plagiarist: like the Jesuits, who advocated the pedagogical value of performance, Jones's engagement in the act of mimesis is educational, not simply for himself but for others too. For he is also teacher to those for whom antiquity has been of necessity hitherto a foreign country. Jones ushers 'all that is praiseworthy in the elegant arts' 'across the Alps' to

bring England into line with its continental neighbours and also into a shared lineage with antiquity.⁵¹

In Thomas Campion's *Lord's Masque* (1613), which Jones designed, we find the characters of Entheus (Poetry) and Orpheus (Music), who are joined by Prometheus (representing the visual), who claims that he 'In equal balance, your third shall be'.⁵² And Jones in his first masque, *Albion's Triumph* (1632), following his separation from Jonson and now in collaboration with the poet Aurelian Townsend, proffers a spirited riposte to Jonson's caricature in his *Expostulation with Inigo Jones* of the worldly, showy, monomaniacal designer. The figures of Theorica and Practica on the proscenium provide allegorical statements about his work as architect, which (with the ancient authority of Vitruvius) combines the theory of the liberal arts and the practice of the mechanical arts.⁵³ Whilst Jonson in his *Expostulation* had compared Jones negatively to ancient architects, Jones's proscenium here gestures towards the frontispiece of Andrea Palladio's pupil, Vincenzo Scamozzi's *L'Idea della Architettura Universale* (Venice 1615). Jones not only met Scamozzi during his 1613–1614 trip to Italy but was also deeply influenced by his work; and with the proscenium to *Albion's Triumph*, he answers Jonson's *ad hominem* critique with theory.⁵⁴

Albion's Triumph as a whole is a pastiche of Andrea Mantegna's *Triumph of Caesar*, which had just arrived in the royal collection; and it serves as a celebration of Charles I, who is cast as a Romano–British Emperor, Albanacus, based on Trajan and Constantine. However, in the first scene, set in a Roman atrium, we can see a tribute to Arundel, in particular, and indeed in some senses a version of Mytens's painting as a scenic tableau of marble statues unfolds before the audience (Figure 1.4; cf. Figure 1.2). The stage directions read that the scene 'represents a Roman atrium, with high columns of white marble, and ornaments of architecture of a composed manner of great projecture, enriched with carving, and between every return of these columns stood statues of gold on round pedestals [*i.e. altars, which were regularly used as plinths for statues*], and beyond these other pieces of architecture of a palace royal'.⁵⁵ The homage to Arundel is made explicit here because it is possible (as in Mytens's painting) to identify particular marbles from Arundel's collection in the scene.⁵⁶

Elsewhere in the masque, the figure of Mercury (read Jones himself?) appears proclaiming the value of deeds not words—practice, as the proscenium proclaims, must underpin theory; and the figure of the Patrician in the second scene is no doubt modelled on Arundel himself, a man of action rather than words. Although the king, Charles I, is clearly the major recipient of the glory being bestowed here in the character of Emperor Albanactus, Arundel as both leading Patrician and the provider of the setting for Albanactus's triumph is also granted pre-eminence through his professed ancient lineage. And if the proscenium figures of Theorica and Practica are taken into account, then clearly the architect too is proclaimed to be another equally important provider of the setting as the designer of the masque.⁵⁷

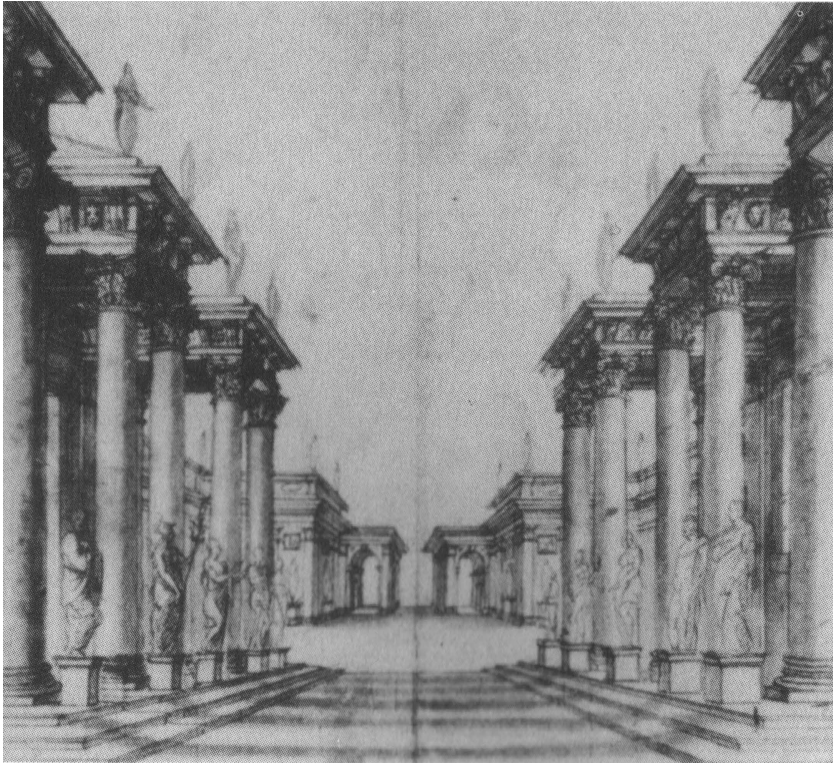


Figure 1.4 *Albion's Triumph*: the forum of Albipolis

Source: Photograph by the Courtauld Institute and the Westerham Press, reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the Chatsworth settlement

Beyond the politics of state, *Albion's Triumph* is also exploring and advocating, as I have sought to demonstrate, alternative cultural politics in a post-Reformation world, one in which the 'Soule' does not reside in the word alone; and the visual doesn't simply, in this neo-Platonic equation, equal the perishable body. As Chapman had said many years earlier, Jones knows how to look into the 'Soules' of Greeks and now presents his findings. This is no 'Hellenomania' of the post-Romantic kind, the hallmark of which is what has been dubbed the 'erotics of reception' for an irrevocable past.⁵⁸ For Elizabethan, Jacobean, and Caroline England, the ancient past (of Greece and Rome, as much as ancient Britain) was active and immanent, just as the ancient gods who appeared from the clouds on elaborate stage machines; and antiquity and modernity were syncretised accordingly.

Jones's contribution to the history of architecture is beyond dispute; the significance of his presence within the circle surrounding Arundel is well

known to archaeologists and architectural historians; and his role as technological wizard within theatre history is equally uncontested. Less well-known, however, is that it was his encounters with Greek and Roman material culture that helped this transformation in stage history that left its mark in theatres across Europe and North America for at least two and half centuries.

Notes

- 1 For Bakst, see Momigliano (2016), with further references.
- 2 Macintosh (2013).
- 3 For Planché's classical burlesques at the Olympic, see Hall and Macintosh (2005); for Kean's excessive 'archaising' productions of Shakespeare at the Princess Theatre, see Macintosh (2015) 310.
- 4 On Heywood's relationship to Chapman and to medieval tradition, see Kenward (2017).
- 5 Macintosh et al. (2017).
- 6 Yates (1947).
- 7 Usher (2014) 26.
- 8 Chapman (1984) xi.
- 9 Graziosi (2014) 187–8.
- 10 Chapman (1984) xi–xii. For comment, see Anderson (2007) 136–9.
- 11 On 'The Collector Earl', see Howarth (1985). He is also referred to as the Second Earl by those (including Mytens), who see his father as the first recipient of the title.
- 12 Macintosh (2010).
- 13 Chaney and Wilks (2014).
- 14 Chaney and Wilks (2014) 2.
- 15 Chaney and Wilks (2014) 59.
- 16 Chaney and Wilks (2014) 59–74.
- 17 The Homerus torso, with hands clasped under his chest, is now in the Randolph Sculpture Gallery in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. It appears in the background of Daniel Mytens's painting, *Thomas Howard, 2nd Earl of Arundel* (c.1618), in the National Portrait Gallery, London (see Figure 1.2 below); and also in a Rubens sketch for Chronos, who appears in the background to his *Le Gouvernement de la Reine* (1622–5), now in the Louvre. Vickers (2006) 6, 66–7 says that Rubens had seen the torso in Italy early in the century, although Rubens must have seen it again on his visit to London to paint the earl's ceiling in 1629, when he comments that 'The Earl of Arundel possesses a countless number of ancient statues and Greek and Latin inscriptions' [cited in Chaney and Wilks (2014) 19]. For details of the 1613–1614 tour, see Summerson (2000), Anderson (2007), Chaney and Wilks (2014) and Guilding (2014).
- 18 Guilding (2014) 25.

- 19 The painting is dated to the same year that Jones completed the designs for Arundel House in the Strand, London.
- 20 Peacham (1634) 106.
- 21 These, and other statues in the collection, are now housed in the Randolph Sculpture Gallery in the Ashmolean Museum after various and varied sojourns in country house collections and even, in certain cases, in a central London park in Lambeth. See Vickers (2006).
- 22 Peacham (1634) 110. For comment, see Orgel (2011) 244–5.
- 23 Peacham (1634) 112.
- 24 Daniel Mytens's painting, *Alathea, Countess of Arundel* (c.1618) is now in the National Portrait Gallery, London. According to Orgel (2011) 240–1, *Alathea* lies behind *Paulina*/the statue in Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* (1611).
- 25 I am indebted to Vickers (2006) for his account of the history of the marbles.
- 26 Coltman (2009).
- 27 See the letter (doubtfully) attributed to Milton, 'Of Statues and Antiquities', Patterson (1931–38) 18.261.
- 28 Cheney and Wilks (2014).
- 29 Haskell and Penny (1981).
- 30 The *editio princeps* of Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, was published in Rome in 1486; the Italian and French translations appeared soon after in 1521 and 1547, respectively, but it wasn't available in English until 1692. Jones would have been able to read the text in Latin.
- 31 See the 2008 imaginative reconstruction of 'The Collector Earl's Garden', designed by Isabel and Julian Bannerman, in the grounds of Arundel Castle. The centrepiece of the garden is a reconstruction of Oberon's Palace, based on Jones's set designs for *The Masque of Oberon* (performed in 1611, published in 1616).
- 32 Rosenfeld (1973). Note that Jones, unlike the Italians, doesn't include 'interior', only landscape, scenes in the distance.
- 33 Campbell (1960); Rosenfeld (1973).
- 34 Jonson (1606). The masque was subsequently known as *Hymenaie, or The Masque of Hymen*. For comment on the scenic innovation here, see Rosenfeld (1973) 19–20.
- 35 Vitruvius, *De Arch.* Book X (for machines); Book VII (for *periaktoi* in the Greek theatre).
- 36 Jonson (1606).
- 37 Rosenfeld (1973).
- 38 Macintosh (2009) 70–3.
- 39 Orrell (1985).
- 40 Orgel (1975) 14. On change of 'focus' in early Greek theatre, see Taplin (1977).
- 41 Peacock (1995).
- 42 For an excellent overview, see Gordon (1949).
- 43 Bevington et al. (2012) 375–9.

- 44 Orgel (1975).
- 45 Lindley (2004).
- 46 Orgel (1975) 58.
- 47 Orgel (1975) 36.
- 48 Ar. *Poetics*, 14. 1457a-1457b.
- 49 Peacock (1995).
- 50 Peacock (1995) 7–8, for the full Latin inscription and the translation (*... omnem-que verterum elegantiarum laudem trans Alpes, in Anglian nostrum aliquando irrep-turas. MERCURIUS IOVIS FILIUS*).
- 51 Jones was the first to attempt to prove that Stonehenge was Roman. See Jones (1655) for his study, commissioned by James I, which was published posthumously.
- 52 Campion (1613).
- 53 Gordon (1949) 154.
- 54 Gordon (1949) 165.
- 55 Townsend (1613).
- 56 Cf. James Shirley and Jones's *The Triumph of Peace* (1634) where again the pro-scenium has individual figures that recall the marbles and altars (and other fragments from a frieze) in the Arundel collection. See Peacock (1995) 254.
- 57 Gordon (1949).
- 58 Billings (2010).

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Winckelmania: Hellenomania between ideal and experience

Katherine Harloe

Eine denkende Seele kann am Strande des weiten Meers sich nicht mit niedrigen Ideen beschäftigen; der unermeßliche Blick erweitert auch die Schranken des Geistes, welcher sich anfänglich zu verlieren scheint, aber grösser wiederum in uns zurück kommt.

A thinking soul on the shore of a vast sea cannot remain occupied with base ideas. The limitless prospect also broadens the confines of the spirit, which appears at first to lose itself, but which returns to us ennobled.

Winckelmann, *Anmerkungen über die Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (1767), Vorrede

Man lernt nichts, wenn man ihn liest, aber man wird etwas.

One learns nothing when one reads him, but one becomes something.

Goethe, in Eckermann (1876) 235

Winckelmann was, of course, the most maniacal Hellenist of them all. As proof we have the testimony of one of the most original critics of his time. At the opening of the section on sculpture in his *Salon* of 1765, Denis Diderot paired Winckelmann with Jean-Jacques Rousseau as examples of a kind of non-violent fanatic with which he was familiar:

J'aime les fanatiques, non pas ceux qui vous présentent une formule absurde de croyance, et qui vous portant le poignard à la gorge, vous crient: Signe, ou meurs; mais bien ceux qui fortement épris de quelque goût particulier et innocent, ne voient plus rien qui lui soit comparable, le défendent de toute leur force; vont dans les maisons et les rues, non la lance, mais le syllogisme en arrêt, sommant et ceux qui passent et ceux qui sont arrêtés, de convenir de leur absurdité, ou de la supériorité des charmes de leur Dulcinée sur toutes les créatures du monde. Ils sont plaisans, ceux-ci. Ils m'amuse; ils m'étonnent quelquefois. Quand par hasard ils ont rencontré la vérité, ils l'exposent avec une énergie qui brise et renverse tout. Dans le paradoxe, accumulant images sur images, appelant à leur secours toutes les puissances de l'éloquence, les expressions figurées, les comparaisons hardies, les tours, les mouvemens;

s'adressant au sentiment, à l'imagination, attaquant l'âme et sa sensibilité par toutes sortes d'endroits, le spectacle de leurs efforts est encore beau.

I'm fond of fanatics, not the ones who present you with an absurd article of faith and who, holding a knife to your throat, scream at you "Sign or die," but rather those who, deeply committed to some specific, innocent taste, hold it to be beyond compare, defend it with all their might, who go into street and household, not with a lance but with their syllogistic decree in hand, calling on everyone they meet either to embrace their absurd view or to avow that the charms of their *Dulcinea* surpass those of every other earthly creature. People like this are droll; they amuse me, sometimes they astonish me. When they've happened upon some truth, they advocate it with an energy that shatters and demolishes all before it. Courting paradox, piling image upon image, exploiting all the resources of eloquence, figurative expressions, daring comparisons, turns of phrase, rhythmic devices, appealing to sentiment, imagination, attacking soul and sensibility from every conceivable angle, the spectacle of their efforts is always beautiful.¹

There is a certain paradox in Diderot's characterisation of his fanatical case studies here. The criticisms are clearest in the case of Rousseau, whom Diderot teases for 'lash[ing] out against the literature he's cultivated all his life, the philosophy he himself professes, the society of our corrupt cities in the midst of which he burns to reside and whose acknowledgement, approbation, tribute he craves.' ('[I]l se déchaîne contre les lettres qu'il a cultivées toute sa vie, la philosophie qu'il professa, la société de nos villes corrompues au milieu desquelles il brûle d'habiter, et où il seroit désespéré d'être ignoré, méconnu, oublié.')

² The paradoxes of Winckelmann's Hellenomania are less apparent, and Diderot takes longer to develop them:

Tel est Winckelmann, lorsqu'il compare les productions des artistes anciens et celles des artistes modernes. Que ne voit-il pas dans ce tronçon d'homme qu'on appelle le *Torse*; les muscles qui se gonflent sur sa poitrine, ce n'est rien moins que les ondulations de flots de mer; ses larges épaules courbées, c'est une grande voûte concave qu'on ne rompt point, qu'on fortifie au contraire par les fardeaux dont on la charge. Et ses nerfs? les cordes des ballistes anciennes qui lançoient des quartiers de rochers à des distances immenses, ne sont en comparaison que des fils d'araignée. Demandez à cet enthousiaste charment, par quelle voie Glicon, Phydias et les autres sont parvenus à faire des ouvrages si beaux et si parfaits? Il vous répondra: Par le sentiment de la liberté qui élève l'âme, et lui inspire de grandes choses, les récompenses de la nation, la considération publique, la vue, l'étude, l'imitation constante de la belle nature, le respect de la postérité, l'ivresse de l'immortalité, le travail assidu, l'heureuse influence des mœurs et du climat, et le génie. Il n'y a sans doute aucun point de cette réponse qu'on osât contester. Mais faites-lui une seconde question, et demandez-lui s'il vaut mieux étudier l'antique que la nature, sans la connoissance, l'étude et le goût de laquelle les anciens artistes, avec tous les avantages particuliers dont ils ont été favorisés, ne nous auroient pourtant laissé que des ouvrages médiocres? L'antique, vous dira-t-il

sans balancer, l'antique; et voilà tout d'un coup l'homme qui a le plus d'esprit, de chaleur et de goût, la nuit tout au beau milieu du Toboso.

Such a one is Winckelmann when he compares the productions of ancient artists with those of modern artists. What doesn't he see in this stump of a man we call the Torso? The swelling muscles of his chest, they're nothing less than the undulations of the sea; his broad bent shoulders, they're a great concave vault that, far from being broken, is strengthened by the burdens it's made to carry; and as for his nerves, the ropes of ancient catapults that hurled large rocks over immense distances are mere spider-webs in comparison. Inquire of this charming enthusiast by what means Glycon, Phidias, and the others managed to produce such beautiful works and he'll answer you: by the sentiment of liberty which elevates the soul and inspires great things; by rewards offered by the nation, and public respect; by the constant observation, study, and imitation of the beautiful in nature, respect for posterity, intoxication at the prospect of immortality, assiduous work, propitious social mores and climate, and genius . . . There's not a single point of this response one would dare contradict. But put a second question to him, ask him if it's better to study the antique or nature, without the knowledge and study of which ancient artists, even with all the specific advantages they enjoyed, would have left us only mediocre works: The antique!—he'll reply without skipping a beat—The antique! . . . and in one fell swoop a man whose intelligence, enthusiasm, and taste are without equal betrays all these gifts in the middle of the Toboso.³

Diderot's amused characterisation of Winckelmann throws up many themes that are relevant not only to the latter's particular form of connoisseurship, but also to many of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Hellenomanias that came in his wake. His commentary suggests three pairs of contrasting (one might even say conflicting) Winckelmanns, which draw out different interpretative possibilities inherent in Winckelmann's work as well as reflecting attitudes that have played wider roles in shaping modern cultural responses to ancient Greek visual material.

Classicism and historicism

The first opposition—which might be thought to correspond roughly to that between Winckelmann as author of the *Reflections on the Imitation of the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks* and that of the *History of the Art of Antiquity*—is classicism versus historicism.⁴ Diderot praises the historicist Winckelmann: the scholar who produces a narrative of the origins, growth, rise and fall of ancient art in its social, cultural, and political contexts. But the classicising Winckelmann, who 'compares the productions of ancient artists with those of modern artists' and finds the latter wanting, is mocked.⁵ This juxtaposition of two Winckelmanns (who cannot of course be separated in the neat manner I have just suggested) anticipates a tension that has shaped approaches to ancient Greek culture in the centuries since: the tension between treating

ancient materials as a privileged source of aesthetic, moral, or other values and a purportedly objective or non-judgemental approach which seeks to confine itself to interpreting that material within its original contexts.

Verbal and visual

Ich sehe in den mächtigen Umrissen dieses Leibes die unüberwundene Kraft des Besiegers der gewaltigen Riesen, die sich wider die Götter empöreten, und in den phlegräischen Feldern von ihm erlegt wurden: und zu gleicher Zeit stellen mir die sanften Züge dieser Umrisse, die das Gebäude des Leibes leicht und gelenksam machen, die geschwinden Wendungen desselben in dem Kampfe mit dem Achelous vor, der mit allen vielförmigen Verwandlungen seinen Händen nicht entgehen konnte.

In jedem Theile dieses Körpers offenbaret sich, wie in einem Gemälde, der ganze Held in einer besondern That, und man siehet, so wie die richtigen Absichten in dem vernünftigen Baue eines Pallastes, hier den Gebrauch, zu welcher That ein jedes Theil gedienet hat.

I see in the powerful contours of this body the invincible force of the conqueror of the mighty giants who rebelled against the gods and were laid low by him in the fields of Phlegra; and at the same time the soft features of this outline, which make the edifice of the body light and pliable, place before me its swift turns in the fight with Achelous, who, with all his various forms, could not escape the hero's hands.

Every part of this body reveals, as in a painting, the entire hero in a particular deed; and here one sees the use for which deed every part has served, just as one sees the suitable purposes in the rational construction of a palace.⁶

The second opposition concerns the distinction between the verbal and the visual, particularly with regard to the privileging of source material. It is no accident that Diderot chooses to characterise Winckelmann by referring to one of his most dense and allusive passages of prose poetry: the ekphrasis of the Belvedere Torso. Like his other famous statue descriptions, Winckelmann's Torso combines close observational detail with literary reference and is indebted to the literary form of ancient and Renaissance ekphrasis.⁷ In the case of the Torso, Winckelmann's description conducts a circuit of the statue, describing and celebrating in turn its chest, left side, hips, back, and thighs, before returning to the left knee. It focuses throughout upon the sculptor's mastery of surface and contour, technical and aesthetic categories Winckelmann privileges in his more explicitly theoretical writings as 'distinguishing characteristics' ('Kennzeichen') of the highest style.⁸ Winckelmann's description is thus clearly grounded in repeated, close observation of the statue itself and its comparison with the other monuments Winckelmann enjoyed the privilege of being able to study first-hand in Italy.⁹ Nevertheless, when it

comes to interpreting the statue's iconography Winckelmann substitutes for this observational and comparative approach a learned flight of fantasy, alluding to mythical episodes known primarily through *literary* sources in order to ground his interpretation of it as the deified Herakles.¹⁰

This literary character of Winckelmann's statue interpretations has led some scholars to criticise him for his overly literary approach towards the interpretation of Greek monuments; recently, however, Elizabeth Prettejohn has pointed out the continuing dependence of historians of art upon precisely the kinds of linkages Winckelmann makes and emphasised once more the status of his descriptions as 'distilled records of the process of looking and cogitation refined through his years of study'.¹¹ Here again we have a tension or oscillation in approaches to the interpretation of ancient objects, which is paraded in Diderot's comments on Winckelmann.

Ideal and material

The third thematic contrast introduced by Diderot's characterisation is that between the ideal and the material. There are several different senses in which the concept of ideal is relevant to Winckelmann's work. An important one is his cleaving to the aesthetics of the *beau idéal*: the notion that art aims at imitation of a perfected or spiritualised nature and that the end of interpretation (viewing) is likewise appreciation of the idealised conception that existed in the mind of the artist. This is surely one of the reasons for Diderot's decision to juxtapose Winckelmann with Rousseau: the fanatical defender of the *beau idéal* against the equally fanatic defender of *la nature*. Potts highlights a different sense of ideality at work in Winckelmann's writings when he comments that 'It is striking how in Winckelmann, the materiality of the antique nude seems to have so little to do with its materiality as a work of art. The physical sensuous aspect of a sculpture is defined almost exclusively in terms of the body it represents, rather than the literal substance of the sculptural object itself.'¹² What Potts means may be revealed by considering a passage from the *History of Ancient Art* in which Winckelmann comments upon the Laocoön:

Die äußerste Haut dieser Statuen, welche gegen die geglättete und geschliffene etwas rauchlich scheint, aber wie ein weicher Sammt gegen einen glänzenden Atlas, ist gleichsam wie die Haut an den Körpern der alten Griechen, die nicht durch beständigen Gebrauch warmer Bäder, wie unter den Römern bey eingerissener Weichlichkeit geschah, ausgelöset, und durch Schabeeisen glatt gerieben worden, sondern auf welche eine gesunde Ausdünstung, wie die erste Anmeldung zur Bekleidung des Kinns, schwamm.

The outermost skin of this statue, which appears somewhat rough when compared with a smoothed and polished surface, albeit like a soft velvet

when compared with a lustrous satin, is, as it were, like the skin on the bodies of the ancient Greeks, which had not been loosened by the constant taking of warm baths, as was the case with the Romans among whom softness prevailed, and by being rubbed smooth with a scraper but on which swam a wholesome perspiration, like the first down on the chin.¹³

Despite the appreciation of the materiality of surface revealed in the comparison of velvet and satin, there is a sense in which Winckelmann directs our attention not *to* the Laocoön but *through* it, to his reconstructed, idealised, and fantastical world of athletic and wholesome Greek male bodies exercising naked under the Attic sun. This is one way in which Diderot's characterisation of Winckelmann as *Quixotic* seems apposite: a charge picked up by other eighteenth-century commentators on Winckelmann's approach to Greek art. For Christian Gottlob Heyne, for example, it was again Winckelmann's statue descriptions that reminded him of Cervantes's antihero:

Wir haben die vortrefflichste Beschreibung des Laocoon von unserm Winkelmann, welche nur die Begeisterung eingeben konnte, und die wiederum ihrer Seits Begeisterung mitzutheilen dienen kann: sie hier zu wiederholen wäre unnöthig; allein, einen deutlichen Begriff und Vorstellung von der Gruppe zu geben, ist sie nicht entworfen: und man muß diese Figur schon genau kennen und überdacht haben, ehe jene Beschreibung ihre rechte Wirkung thun kann; sonst ist man in der Gefahr, in welche vor wenigen Jahren so viele unsrer jungen Landsleute zu gerathen pflegten, daß man sich, wie der Ritter von Mancha, in eine Entzückung und Begeisterung hineinarbeitet, wozu nichts weiter fehlt, als nur—ein wirklicher, oder doch ein bestimmter Gegenstand.

We have Winckelmann's excellent description of the Laocoon, which only enthusiasm could have produced and which in turn can only serve to convey enthusiasm. There is no need to reproduce it here, only to note that it is not composed so as to give a clear concept and idea of the group; one must already be well acquainted with this statue and have studied it before this description can have the correct effect; otherwise one runs the risk to which, a few years ago, so many of our young compatriots tended to succumb: that, like the knight of La Mancha, one works oneself into a state of rapture and enthusiasm to which nothing is lacking except for an actual, or at least a determinate, object.¹⁴

Heyne's comments express his exasperation with the trend for enthusiastic yet unscholarly description to which, as he also complains elsewhere, Winckelmann's writings had given birth.¹⁵ Yet his criticisms also suggest that how Winckelmann's descriptions are evocative to a degree that is virtually unparalleled in the scholarly literature before or since. This is because they purport to record and/or encourage a mode of experience of ancient objects that is predicated on *both* close observation *and* imagination, that is claimed to elevate the viewer both sensually and intellectually, to render cognitive and historical insight but

also to be based on emotional and indeed physical response. This is what Diderot has in mind when he talks of the assault upon the soul and sensibility presented by both Winckelmann's and Rousseau's writings, which renders their fanaticism beautiful and astonishing and attracts acolytes.

Winckelmania

It is this kind of experience in the presence of the work of art that I would characterise as a distinctively '*Winckel*-mania', and it is my contention that it was as significant to the ways in which ancient Greek material culture was received in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as Winckelmann's more readily recognisable theoretical formulations, such as the notion of four period styles or the idea of liberty as the cause of artistic greatness. The Winckelmaniac experience of ancient objects is, perhaps, harder to distinguish, not least because it lies within a larger set of rapturous or reverent encounters with Greek (and, for that matter, Roman) antiquities with which we are familiar. There is, of course, the longer humanistic tradition of conversing with the ancients as dead souls or ghosts: imaginatively summoning the spirits of past souls to one's study for late-night conversation (Machiavelli, Plato). And the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are also full of instances of imaginative or nostalgic encounters with antiquity 'on the ground', which form an inspiration to artistic, literary, or theoretical production: one might think, for example, of Edward Gibbon's famous 'Capitoline Vision', William Beckford's and Percy Shelley's 'reveries' at Pompeii, or the meditations on temporality and decay prompted by Benjamin West's and Wilhelm von Humboldt's sights of Rome.¹⁶

These earlier and contemporary flights of fantasy differ from Winckelmania in a number of ways: most obviously, in that they tend to occur to the artist or writer when he is contemplating an entire vista or architectural prospect, rather than a discrete object such as a particular statue. Another divergence, which reveals the long genealogy of this trope stretching back before the bifurcation of 'classical antiquity' into Greek and Roman periods, as well as the realities of travel for many in the early modern period, is that they seem to be prompted by contemplation of Rome more often than of Greece (although it should be remembered that many of the artworks that most fired Winckelmann's imagination turned out to be Greco-Roman rather than Greek, and that sites in Magna Graecia such as Paestum or Pompeii furnished material ripe for Hellenomaniac fantasy). There is, moreover, a significant difference in the character of the experience itself. For Gibbon or Humboldt, the feelings that arose upon Italian soil provided a prompt to further scholarship or study. For Winckelmann and his followers, seeing the ancient object is experienced as epistemically valuable in itself: enthusiasm is considered as a means of gaining knowledge about a particular ancient object or about the ancient past more generally. This knowledge is, moreover, considered to be an ethically transformative or uplifting experience for the viewer. This is perhaps why Winckelmania

tends to attach to Greek objects (or at least, objects believed to be Greek) more often than Roman ones, and it is no accident that several of Winckelmann's descriptions culminate with first-person reference to the observer as an 'I' who is ennobled and transformed in this rapturous encounter with the object:

Durch eine geheime Kunst aber wird der Geist durch alle Thaten seiner Stärke bis zur Vollkommenheit seiner Seele geführt, und in diesem Stücke ist ein Denkmahl derselben, welches ihm kein Dichter, die nur die Stärke seiner Arme besingen, errichtet: der Künstler hat sie übertroffen. Sein Bild des Helden giebt keinem Gedanken von Gewaltthätigkeit und ausgelassener Liebe Platz. In der Ruhe und Stille des Körpers offenbaret sich der gesetzte große Geist; der Mann, welcher den Dichtern ein Beyspiel der Tugend geworden ist, der sich aus Liebe zur Gerechtigkeit den größten Gefährlichkeiten ausgesetzt, der den Ländern Sicherheit und den Einwohnern Ruhe geschaffen.

By means of a secret art, however, the mind is led through all of the deeds of his strength up to the perfection of his soul, and in this work there is a monument to this very soul which no poet erects who sings only of the strength of his arms: the artist has surpassed it. His image of the hero gives no place to thoughts of violence and unruly love. In the peace and quiet of the body is revealed a calm, great spirit: the man who has become an example of virtue to the poets, who exposed himself to the greatest dangers from love of justice, who brought security to the nations and peace to the inhabitants.¹⁷

Ich vergesse alles andere über dem Anblicke dieses Wunderwerks der Kunst, und ich nehme selbst einen erhabenen Stand an, um mit Würdigkeit anzuschauen. Mit Verehrung scheint sich meine Brust zu erweitern und zu erheben, wie diejenigen, die ich wie vom Geiste der Weißsagung aufgeschwellet sehe, und ich fühle mich weggerückt nach Delos und in die Lycischen Hayne, Orte, welche Apollo mit seiner Gegenwart beehrte: denn mein Bild scheint Leben und Bewegung zu bekommen, wie des Pygmalions Schönheit. Wie ist es möglich, es zu malen und zu beschreiben.

In gazing up on this masterpiece of art I forget all else, and I myself adopt an elevated stance, in order to be worthy of gazing upon it. My chest seems to expand with veneration and to heave like those I have seen swollen as if by the spirit of prophecy, and I feel myself transported to Delos and the Lycian groves, places Apollo honoured with his presence—for my figure seems to take on life and movement, like Pygmalion's beauty. How is it possible to paint and describe it!¹⁸

The elevating effects of Winckelmaniac transport provide a particularly intense affirmation of the educative power of the (idealised) Hellenic.

It is the prevalence of this form of experience—an apparently direct and transformative encounter with the ancient past which occurs via heightened experience of an object believed to be authentically ancient (most often, authentically Greek)—that I am interested in exploring. One reason why this

might be useful is that a finer appreciation of Winckelmania may help us to understand the persistence of classicism into the 'romantic' era of the early nineteenth century. The basic puzzle here can be posed as the question of how far and in what ways romanticism supplants classicism, or how far classicism can be seen as living on in romanticism, albeit transformed.¹⁹ Foregrounding the fact that a component of eighteenth-century classicism is the notion of gaining knowledge of antiquity via a particularly intense, individual experience of ancient objects may help us to understand this filiation. It also has the potential to expand our understanding of the content of Neoclassicism beyond the imitation of classical forms and motifs, and therefore to forge new connections between different historical actors and kinds of material.

But trying to assess the prevalence of Winckelmania is not an easy task. For, quite apart from the aforementioned problem of distinguishing Winckelmania from other forms of humanistic and antiquarian reverie, it is far harder to reconstruct the character of historical actors' *experiences* than it is, say, to document the spread of Winckelmann's *writings* in publications across Italy, Germany, France, and Amsterdam, and their translation into major European languages.

In the final part of this chapter I present an example where I suspect that a distinctively Winckelmaniac experience is described. It is an eighteenth-century example, and from the Anglophone world. The eighteenth-century focus is dictated on the one hand by my particular expertise. On the other, my choice of an English writer is prompted by the particular interest offered by Anglophone receptions of Winckelmann, which have received relatively little attention compared to French, German, and Italian responses.²⁰ It has sometimes been assumed that Winckelmann's influence on British Hellenism was mediated largely through the next generation of German poets and critics, especially Goethe and the Schlegel brothers. And it is certainly true that British writers show a stronger interest in Winckelmann from the mid-century onwards: an interest that begins from Pater's biographical essay (1867) and is continued through the work of writers such as Edward Carpenter and Oscar Wilde.²¹ Yet there was clearly some familiarity with Winckelmann's writings among the English reading public long before this. Although the *History* was not translated into English until the middle of the nineteenth century, Winckelmann's connoisseurial essays, the Letter on Herculaneum, and Torso description were published in England (and in English translation) as early as the mid-1760s.²² Winckelmann's offices as a Vatican Library *scriptor* and as Papal Antiquarian and his service to Cardinal Albani, who served for a time as protector of British interests at Rome, placed him at the intersection of many social and political networks: connoisseurial, antiquarian, courtly, and diplomatic. At Rome Winckelmann also encountered and socialised with younger and older artists and connoisseurs of various nationalities, from Anton Raphael Mengs to Sir William Hamilton, the Wortley Montagus and John Wilkes. In addition to the history of publication of and critical responses to Winckelmann's writings,

therefore, we must add other channels of reception that are harder to trace: teacher–student and *cicerone*–tourist relations and networks of sociability (both face-to-face and in private correspondence).²³

It is in relation to these more ephemeral kinds of encounter that I want to assess the example of Charles Burney. Perhaps best known now as the father of the important diarist and novelist, Fanny Burney, Charles was a literary figure in his own right who spent almost six months in Italy in 1770 in order to research his *General History of Music* (4 vols, 1776–1789). His itinerary, which was typical of a Grand Tourist, included visits to Milan, Venice, Padua, Bologna, Florence, and Naples, as well as two sojourns in Rome. The diary he kept is well known to eighteenth-century scholars as a valuable source of information on eighteenth-century collections. It also provides fascinating testimony on the social dynamics of eighteenth-century learned tourism; for Burney's scholarly ambitions, as well as his entertainments, were furthered by a range of visitors and residents in the cities to which he travelled. Some, such as John Sackville, Third Duke of Dorset, primarily provided hospitality; others, such as Sir William Hamilton, helped him gain access to collections he wished to study. Still others showed Burney around the sights.

The first passage below records Burney's first visit to the Vatican collections on Saturday 22 September, around a week after his first arrival in Rome. After a hearty breakfast (a necessity for any self-respecting Englishman), he heads over to St Peter's in the party of his companions, 'Messrs Beckford and Vyse':

To describe what I saw or felt is equally impossible—all my *great* expectations were surpassed—the approach, the vestibula the grand scala—the mosaic—at the whole I was in a delirium. From hence to see the Apollo Belvedere—the Laocoon, the Antinous etc—all most exquisite—the very first statues in the universe!

Burney's description of his 'delirium' is brief, and a note of unintentional bathos is added by what follows straight afterwards: 'Dined very agreeably at the Duke of Dorset's'.²⁴ As an account of a response to the Cortile Belvedere it is not very informative, but the phrase 'all my great expectations were surpassed' suggests, perhaps, that his response is predetermined: he sees something akin to what he expected to see.

What had shaped and conditioned Burney's 'great expectations'? Various clues about this are scattered elsewhere in the diary. We might note, first, that his company on this visit includes 'Fuselier, the young artist' (not Johann Heinrich Füssli the painter and first English translator of Winckelmann's writings, but another Zürich native of the same name who had indeed associated with Winckelmann in Rome in the 1760s and eventually returned to Switzerland, where he became a historian and politician of some stature).²⁵ Elsewhere in his diary Burney recounts visiting and conversing with other friends and former correspondents of Winckelmann, such as Mengs in Florence and

Hamilton and Paderni in Naples. He is granted entry to the Vatican libraries by Cardinal Albani himself. What insights these men offered him during their conversations are left unrecorded, but it is not too fanciful to assume that these included recommendations on what to prioritise among Italy's many artistic treasures.

It is above all the mode of Burney's recorded responses to particular sculptures, as much or more than the choices he makes about what to see, that suggest that he may have been something of a Winckelmaniac. Six days after his first, rapturous experience of the Vatican collections and in reward for a morning spent studying in the Vatican Libraries, he went on another aesthetic pilgrimage, once again accompanied by a resident guide, to the Capitoline Museum:

After dinner Captain Forbes played the cicerone and accompanied me to the Capitol or Campidoglio, where I saw so many fine remains of antiquity, it is impossible to remember half—tho' I confined myself to the statues only . . .

In the middle of the square is the finest equestrian statue in bronze of Marcus Aurelius, which has been preserved of ancient sculpture. The horse moves and the emperor speaks . . . I only went into the musaeum, or Palazzo de' Conservatore—at the entrance are 2 fine military statues of Julius Caesar, and Augustus after the battle of Actium. The feet and hand of the colossian Apollo brought by Lucullus from Pontus—it was 41ft high so that the great toe is as thick as the body of the Abbe Grant, who is rather corpulent . . . The dying gladiator, one of the first statues in the world, finely preserved—Cupid and Psyche standing and kissing each other with innocent fondness his hand delicately supports her chin 'tis charming. Agripina, sedens to the last degree exquisite: such drapery and expression as I never saw in sculpture. Antonius [sic], by some preferred to that at the Belvedere.²⁶

Burney begins his description from the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius. Although it is once again brief, his comment that 'The horse moves and the emperor speaks' is precisely the kind of taut, evocative comment we find time and time again in Winckelmann's writings.²⁷ His singling out of the Agrippina's drapery and expression for particular praise makes casual reference to two connoisseurial categories Winckelmann had taken over from the French academic art tradition and extolled pointedly in relation to ancient sculpture in the *Gedancken*. It is interesting to see these categories applied in praise to a sculpture Winckelmann himself had criticised in the *Geschichte* as providing abundant evidence of the *decline* of art under Nero.²⁸ The only explicit mentions of Winckelmann in Burney's travelogue are antiquarian in character, concerning his writings as a source of information about ancient musical instruments.²⁹ Yet Burney's comments on sculpture hint at a rather looser Winckelmania of enraptured viewing practice, which conditioned (without fully determining) the choice of objects to privilege and was demonstrably linked to his predecessor by chains of international sociability and correspondence.

All this is highly tentative, but it poses the possibility that Winckelmann's prostration before the Belvedere Apollo and Keats's 'sick' and 'dizzy pain' at the sight of the Elgin Marbles may be linked more closely than has hitherto been supposed. Despite the divergence (indeed, in some cases, the reversal) of critical judgements about specific ancient artworks evident between eighteenth- and nineteenth-century men of taste, some key components of Winckelmania—ideal, imaginary, edifying—have continued to inform both scholarly and more general cultural responses to ancient Greek material culture into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as successive generations have sought and found in ancient Greek their own image of 'Leben and Bewegung'. And, bringing with them such prejudices, each generation has run the danger of quixotism that Diderot and Heyne identified. This fact did not escape one nineteenth-century Hellenist who participated in Winckelmann's enthusiasm for Greece to a far greater degree than Diderot's detachment, despite his refusal to treat the Hellenic after the manner of Winckelmann as a principle of serenity and light:

Die Verehrung des klassischen Alterthums . . . das heisst also die einzig ernsthafte uneigennützig hingebende Verehrung, welche das Alterthum bis jetzt gefunden hat, ist ein grossartiges Beispiel der Don Quixoterie: und so etwas ist also Philologie besten Falls. So schon bei den alexandrinischen Gelehrten, so bei allen den Sophisten des ersten und zweiten Jahrhunderts, bei den Atticisten usw. Man ahmt etwas rein Chimärisches nach, und läuft einer Wunderwelt hinterdrein, die nie existirt hat. Es geht ein solcher Zug schon durch das Alterthum: die Art, wie man die homerischen Helden copirte, der ganze Verkehr mit dem Mythus hat etwas davon. Allmählich ist das ganze Griechenthum selber zu einem Objecte des Don Quixote geworden.

Reverence for classical antiquity . . . that is, the only serious, unselfserving, self-sacrificing reverence that antiquity has received to date, is a monumental example of Quixotism: and that is what philology is at best. So it was in the case of the Alexandrian scholars, so with all the sophists of the first and second centuries, with the Atticists, and so on. One imitates something that is purely chimerical, and chases after a wonderland that never existed. The same impulse ran through classical antiquity: the way in which the Homeric heroes were copied, the entire traffic with myth has something of this. Gradually, the whole of ancient Greece was made into an object worthy of Don Quixote.³⁰

Notes

- 1 Diderot (1960) 206; (1995) 156.
- 2 Diderot (1960) 206–7; (1995) 157.
- 3 Diderot (1960) 207; (1995) 157.
- 4 See Décultot (2000) for this mapping, which appears to be a pronounced trait of French-language receptions of Winckelmann.

- 5 Diderot (1960) 207; (1995) 157.
- 6 Winckelmann (2002) 170–1; English translation by Curtis Bowman in Winckelmann (2005) xiv–v, slightly modified.
- 7 On the Torso description in particular and Winckelmann's ekphrastic practice in general, see Pfotenhauer (1995), Borg (1999), Giuliani (1999), Harloe (2007), Prettejohn (2012), Harloe (2013) 86–94, Vollhardt (2013) 177–81.
- 8 See especially the essays 'Erinnerung über die Betrachtung der Werke der Kunst' and 'Von der Grazie in Werken der Kunst', first published in *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste* in 1759 (Winckelmann (2002) 149–62. For discussion, see Harloe (2013) 70–7. These essays were likely composed while Winckelmann was making his study of the Stosch gem collection. Potts (1994) 84–9 conjectures plausibly that Winckelmann's emphasis upon contour, especially the 'Greek profile', as a mark of artistic greatness derives from his study of archaic Greek silver coins as 'the one solid empirical starting-point he had for tracing the early stylistic evolution of Greek art' (85). Coins and gems are reproduced as many of the head- and tail-pieces of the *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, as well as the frontispiece of the 1763 *Abhandlung von der Fähigkeit der Empfindung des Schönen in der Kunst, und dem Unterrichte in derselben*.
- 9 As Décultot (2000) 217–43 explores, the claim of authority based on his unprecedented and unrivalled opportunities for autopsy was one of the key means by which Winckelmann sought to differentiate himself from his predecessors and rivals.
- 10 See Borg (1999) for an alternative viewpoint.
- 11 Prettejohn (2012) 78–9; for criticisms of the 'literariness' of Winckelmann's approach to ancient art see Donohue (1995), Lolla (2002), and, albeit in a somewhat different vein, Himmelmann 1971.
- 12 Potts (1994) 250.
- 13 Winckelmann (1764) 253; (2006) 246.
- 14 Heyne (1779) 18.
- 15 Heyne (1778) vii–ix; see Potts (1978) 207.
- 16 On Beckford see Baum (2011); on West see Galt (1960) 92–4. Humboldt's ruminations are reported by Goethe in his essay on Winckelmann: Goethe (1805) 408–9.
- 17 Winckelmann (2002) 172; (2005) xvii.
- 18 Winckelmann (1764) 393; (2006) 334.
- 19 See Jenkins (1992) 25.
- 20 It is worth noting that Winckelmann's writings were disseminated in other European countries, and languages, considerably earlier than is often noted. Numerous French and Italian translations appeared between the 1760s and the 1780s (and some of Winckelmann's works were published originally in French or Italian). Lucy Russell, a doctoral researcher at the University of Oxford, has recently completed a thesis on Winckelmann's reception in Italy, 1755–1850.
- 21 On Pater's essay, and the importance of Goethe within it, see Evangelista and Harloe (2017).

- 22 *Thoughts on the Imitation of the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks*, the response, *Instructions to the Connoisseur* and *Essay on Grace*, were published in the spring of 1766 as a subscription edition by Heinrich Fuseli. An English translation of Winckelmann's Torso description first appeared in the *Annual Register* for 1765 together with an abstract of the Herculaneum Letter, an English translation of which (from the French) appeared in 1771. French translations of Winckelmann's *History* were advertised by London booksellers as early as 1766.
- 23 For a discussion of some of the young men to whom Winckelmann acted as *cicerone* and with whom he struck up friendships, see Morrison (1996). The fundamental study of Winckelmann's correspondence is Disselkamp (1993).
- 24 Burney (1969) 130–1.
- 25 Pop (2015) 13.
- 26 Burney (1969) 137.
- 27 Compare, for example, Winckelmann's famous characterisation of the female painted dancers from Herculaneum as 'flüchtig wie ein Gedanke, und schön wie von der Hand der Gratien ausgeführet' ('fleeting as a thought and beautiful as if they were drawn by the Graces') Winckelmann (1762) 30; (2011) 83.
- 28 Winckelmann (1764) 395–6; (2006) 335. In fact, Winckelmann also comments on the smooth finish of the fragments of the colossal 'Apollo' (in truth a statue of Constantine I) in implicitly disapproving terms: 'Die Coloßische Statue aber, von welcher im Campidoglio beyde Füße, Stücke von den Armen, und eine Knie-scheibe übrig sind (die von dem Colossus des Apollo, welchen Lucullus aus Apollonien nach Rom führete, seyn sollen, war geschliffen und gegleitet.' ('[T]he fragments of the colossal statue on the Campidoglio—consisting of both feet, parts of the arms, and a kneecap, which are said to be from the colossus of Apollo that [Marcus] Lucullus carried to Rome from Apollonia [(Sozopol, Bulgaria)]—were smoothed and polished.') (Winckelmann (1764) 234–5; (2006) 246–7). For the identification as Constantine I see Borbein, Kunze et al. (2006) 322.
- 29 Burney (1969) 148 (perhaps significantly in the context of a visit to the Villa Albani), 171.
- 30 Nietzsche (1988) 8.121; English translation modified and expanded from Porter (2008) 476.

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The British literary reception of Greek visual culture in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries

Richard Jenkyns

A study of reception might in principle be merely the statement of fact: y derives from x . But since that is not very interesting, scholars of reception naturally look for methods of bringing analysis to their theme. One common method is to look for the ways in which the past has been used to satisfy cultural needs, to glamorise or reproach the present age, or to gratify preconceptions. Clearly the past has indeed often been exploited in this fashion, but there is a danger in an approach of this kind. It becomes all too easy to patronise our ancestors, and to present all those who have gone before as the more or less helpless prisoners of the prejudices of themselves and their age, while the author and those who happen to think like him are alone exempt from bondage to original sin. Such is the outlook, for example, found in the work of Martin Bernal.¹

To escape the condescension of such an approach, another argument, apparently more modest and more plausible, is sometimes offered: that we are all alike limited by our antecedent beliefs and preconceptions, today as much as in the past. But this line too is unsatisfactory. In the first place, it is at best a half truth. For one thing, scholarship does make progress, and there are times when lesser men can see clearly what greater predecessors have not seen. For another, we should make a distinction, sometimes ignored, between being influenced by the spirit of the age and being determined by it. If we are, in some respects, the prisoners of our days, we are not helpless prisoners, with no hope of parole. We can do our best to examine ourselves, to identify our limitations, and to try to overcome them. Indeed, that is a scholar's duty. The effort may not be wholly successful, but it is not useless either. The scepticism that declares all interpretations to be relative can be made to sound very sophisticated, but it is really a kind of intellectual laziness, licensing an easy subjectivity and sparing its adherents the hard work of sorting good ideas from bad and searching for as much of the truth as we can find.

Another consideration is this. Undoubtedly, the Hellenism of the nineteenth century was coloured by various kinds of cultural longing and idealisation. But there were times when people were brought up short, confronted by some hard lump of fact which was not what they had been expecting. One

such was the discovery of the Indo-European language family. Another was the decipherment of Egyptian hieroglyphics. Yet another, important to my present theme, was the arrival of the Elgin Marbles in London, compelling the educated public to revise its idea of fifth-century Greek sculpture. Whereas the discovery of Indo-European was disconcerting, in the case of the marbles the revision was for the most part enthusiastically made (although Richard Payne Knight dismissed them as imitations of Hadrianic date).² But in each case it is new information, new reality that drives the change, not a surrender to wishful thinking.

What is now called reception covers things that used to bear other names, such as *fortuna*, *Nachleben*, or *Überlieferung*. Those older names implied that the scholar was taking his stand amid the original material, and looking forward from it towards the future. 'Reception' implies a stand among the receivers, looking back towards the past, and indeed that is the way that most reception study is now done. But there is an advantage in returning sometimes to the older approach, for it may remind us that receivers do not always know what it is that they are receiving. For example, some English houses in the eighteenth century contained 'Etruscan rooms', decorated after the style of ancient vase paintings. We now know that these vases were not Etruscan but Greek; people were receiving Greece without knowing it. It is not the case here that people were idealising the Etruscans, or indeed much interested in them at all beyond the attractive images that they produced and that happened to have been recently discovered. There is no Etruscanism to stand beside modern Hellenism.

Conversely, people might believe that they were receiving Greek art when they were not in fact doing so, and this fact does take us back to the pressure of cultural desire upon the material remains of the past. Famously, Winckelmann derived his ideas about Greek sculpture from Roman copies, and when authentic Greek sculpture of the fifth and fourth centuries began appearing in western Europe, it looked somewhat different. But this raises the question of what counts as Greek. To understand modern Hellenism, in the Romantic age above all, it is important to realise how selective it was. Hellenism was often regarded as a kind of pure essence, from which much, perhaps most, of what had actually been Greek was distilled out.³

On the whole there is no need to worry much about naming conventions, such as periodisation. Terms like 'Elizabethan age' or 'eighteenth century' are imperfect, but we realise that they are approximate, and when we use them, we mostly know what we are doing. But there are places where such habit may be seriously misleading. A deep-rooted convention supposes that everything written in Greek or Latin over several centuries is 'classical' unless it is Jewish or Christian, in which case it is not. This is obviously distorted. Another convention holds that once the Roman empire has become well established, the works of art created in it are called Roman or perhaps Greco-Roman. But they may have been entirely Greek. Trajan's architect, for his baths, his basilica,

and his forum, was Apollodorus of Damascus. Now that it has been shown that the Pantheon too was designed and begun under Trajan,⁴ the possibility is increased that it was designed by the same man. Apollodorus evidently came out of the Greek-speaking Eastern empire; where he belonged ethnically, there is no knowing. The sculptures on which Winckelmann based his ideas may well have been made by Greeks but not by Greeks of the fifth century, which is where he and the Hellenophiles who followed him focused their attention—on Athens, of course, above all.

Visual culture was built into modern Hellenism from the start, and that is because Winckelmann put it there. There is a familiar narrative according to which Winckelmann proclaimed that all Greek art, visual and literary, was marked by a noble simplicity and a calm greatness, that this was modified by Lessing, who accepted Winckelmann's analysis of visual art but rejected its application to literature, and that these ideas were then transmitted, mostly by indirect means, to England. That story still seems essentially correct. The principal influences seem to have been Goethe and A. W. von Schlegel. Goethe's effect, derived from different parts of his large and varied oeuvre, was diverse and diffusive, and owed much to the size of his genius and the range of his mind. Schlegel's influence was more compact and straightforward: it came from his *Lectures on the Drama*. He made the visual central to his idea of Hellenism. The literature of the Greeks was sculptural, he said, as the art of the moderns is picturesque; or in a different formulation, the preeminent art of the Greeks was sculpture and that of the moderns was music.⁵ The first of these formulations contrasts two kinds of visibility, sculpture and painting; the second contrasts a visual with an auditory art. In either case the reader is invited, when contemplating the ancient Greeks, to take a visual turn.

The classic and idealising conception of Greece that was developed in the first half of the nineteenth century saw Athens in the fifth century as achieving an unmatched unity, poise, and completeness, where beauty of mind and body were valued alike, where art attained a classic perfection, and where the great spirits, Phidias, Pericles, Sophocles, Thucydides, and Socrates, in some sense made common cause. There is an element of truth in this idea, for sure, but it also conceals some important realities. This is one of those places where it is helpful to turn the focus of reception study back from the receivers to the received, for here is a case where we need to examine the nature of the earlier age in order to understand why its reception took the form that it did. There is a great dislocation between the Greeks' visual and literary arts at this period. Visually, they aimed at perfecting a small number of forms: in architecture the Doric and Ionic orders and the post-and-lintel style of construction; in sculpture, the nude male and the clothed female figure. But their literature was bold and constantly experimental, as was their intellectual exploration.

The Romantic conception of Greece—with caution, we may label it Hellenomania—commonly made Sophocles, the middle of the three great tragedians, into the consummate representative of the classic idea, the man

whose plays bring resolution, the serene spirit who, in Matthew Arnold's famous words, 'saw life steadily and saw it whole'.⁶ But we might rather think of him as strange, savage, and extreme. Dante excepted, no great poet gives so much attention to purely physical pain. There were some who recognised this savagery—Lessing, for example, and Schiller—but their view did not predominate, and throughout the nineteenth century the interpretation of Greek literature was affected and often distorted by attempts to assimilate its character to the character of their sculpture and architecture.

Winckelmann's leading idea, in diluted forms, trickled down even into popular culture, at least if we are to believe Dickens: 'It's calm', says Mrs Jarley of her waxwork show, 'and—what's that word again—critical?—no—classical, that's it,—it is calm and classical . . .'.⁷ But was Greek visual art itself so calm and classical in reality? Well before Dickens two complications had appeared. The first concerned architecture. When Goethe saw real Greek temples, at Paestum, he was struck by their rudeness and primitive power.⁸ The 'classicism' of the Doric order, especially, could be admired for its 'romantic' qualities. The Greek Revival in British architecture—as on the continent and in North America—was a classicising, purifying movement, but some of its examples are unmistakably romantic. The extreme bareness and austerity of some Greek Revival Doric—barer than any actual Greek buildings in their original form—was a romantically unbalanced cultivation of classical balance. Here was an irony in reception: it was time and chance that had stripped the sculpture from so many Greek pediments. Sculpture costs money, of course, but some Greek Revival pediments were surely kept unadorned not—or not only—for lack of resources but out of admiration for a kind of starkness that the Greeks themselves would have deplored.

I have already mentioned the other complication: the Elgin Marbles. Today their name seems to conjure up for most people the frieze, and it is some part of the frieze, usually the horsemen, that is almost always depicted whenever they are in the news. This in itself indicates a change in the reception of the Greek visual culture, since for the Romantics the Elgin Marbles were above all the figures of the pediment. And they surprised a public accustomed to the Greco-Roman antiquities brought back from the Grand Tour and the modern pieces based upon their example. The turn towards Greece in the second half of the eighteenth century had also been a turn towards Neoclassicism. The pediments of the Parthenon showed that these turns were not in the same direction. Their figures had more in common with baroque sculpture than with John Flaxman or Antonio Canova.

John Keats is a witness to the thrillingly romantic feelings that these sculptures stirred. In his sonnet *On Seeing the Elgin Marbles* (lines 9–13) he describes how they make him swoon and weep:⁹

Such dim-conceivèd glories of the brain
Bring round the heart an undescribable feud;

So do these wonders a most dizzy pain,
That mingles Grecian grandeur with the rude
Wasting of old Time, . . .

William Hazlitt too felt the rapture, which he expressed in his essay, 'Flaxman's Lectures on Sculpture'. He detected a conflict in Flaxman between his professed principles and his practice. The sculptor bestows praise on the graceful, the grand, the beautiful, and the ideal, but (in Hazlitt's view) is unable to convey what these terms signify. He places Michelangelo almost above the ancients, but his own works, Hazlitt observes, 'do not bear out this claim'. That is oddly put—for one can admire an artist without taking him for a model—but one sees what the essayist meant. He notes too that

The Lecturer bestows due and eloquent praise on the horses of the Elgin collection, which he supposes to have been done under the superintendence, and probably from designs by Phidias; but we are sorry he has not extended his eulogium to the figure of the Theseus, which appears to us a world of grace and grandeur in itself, and to say to the sculptor's art, '*Hitherto shalt thou come, and no farther!*'¹⁰

By the horses is presumably meant the frieze, although it could in principle include the horse of Selene from the eastern pediment. Flaxman has praised the more 'classical' aspect of the Parthenon marbles, those parts of them that could seem closer to neoclassical work, while Hazlitt is drawn to the more 'romantic' side to them. Yet his romanticism is not as wild as Keats's. 'Grace' and 'grandeur' are still the terms of praise, and the art of the Theseus has, yet again, that perfected equilibrium that supposedly marked the Greek fifth century: 'What went before was rude in the comparison; what came after it was artificial'.

For the conflict was not only within Flaxman but also within Hazlitt himself. His language reveals a certain embarrassment, for on the one hand he does not want to disparage what he calls 'the ancient objects of our idolatry', such as the Apollo Belvedere and the Farnese Hercules, but on the other they now appear to him beside the Parthenon sculptures to be 'comparatively, and without disparagement of their vast and almost superhuman merit, *stuck-up* gods and goddesses'. In the Elgin Marbles 'a new principle is at work':

. . . a principle of fusion, of motion, so that the marble flows like a wave . . . in the fragment of the Theseus, the whole is melted into one impression like wax; there is all the flexibility, the malleableness of flesh; there is the same alternate tension and relaxation; the same sway and yielding of the parts; . . . the statue bends and plays under the framer's mighty hand and eye, as if, instead of being a block of marble, it was provided with an internal machinery of nerves and muscles, and felt every slightest pressure and motion from one extremity to the other.¹¹

These sculptures also unite 'the ease, truth, force, and delicacy of Nature': 'The flesh has the texture and softness of flesh, not the smoothness and stiffness of stone. There is an undulation and liquid flow on the surface, as the breath of genius moved the mighty mass'. With the Apollo Belvedere and its like, by contrast, 'The limbs have too much an appearance of being cased in marble'. Once Hazlitt has said that, one may wonder why he troubled to defer so apologetically to the 'vast and almost superhuman merit' of such works; no writer today would feel the need. His deference shows how hard it was to shake off the inherited idea of what classical sculpture was and where, at its best, its merit lay.

Keats and Hazlitt share what one might call the ecstatic response to Greek art. But there are differences. Keats's sonnet on the Marbles can be set beside his more famous sonnet *On First Looking Into Chapman's Homer*. That is, implicitly, about getting back behind the smooth elegance of Pope's translation—back to Jacobean Chapman's rude and rugged verse. Keats gothicises, as it were, Homer, and he gothicises Greek art. The sensibility which enjoys the rude wasting of time is the sensibility which delights in medieval ruins. It is, to look ahead, the sensibility of John Ruskin and William Morris, who preferred old buildings to be weathered and mouldering, whatever the loss of the original architects' intentions.

That was not, however, what Keats would produce in his *Ode on a Grecian Urn*, where instead of time's wasting we find timelessness—the urn still unravished, the lovers forever just about to kiss.¹² Keats seems not to have had a single work of art of mind in this case; sources commonly proposed are the Portland Vase and a painting by Claude now at Anglesey Abbey in Cambridgeshire.¹³ It is perhaps significant that this particular idea of Greece is not in fact drawn from Greek art but apparently from a mixture of Roman art and the classical tradition. When he confronted the fifth century directly, his response was different. In the earlier poem he speaks of 'Grecian grandeur'. That could correspond, whether consciously or not, to Winckelmann's 'Grösse' (though one doubts whether Keats would have agreed to 'stille Grösse'). Poe had yet to write the poem (*To Helen*) which would distinguish 'the glory that was Greece' from 'the grandeur that was Rome'—behind which lurks, perhaps, a return to the 'neoclassical' idea of classical Greece.¹⁴

Hazlitt's response to the Marbles may seem similar to that of Keats in its rapture, but there is this distinction, that Hazlitt was one of those who was struck by the modernity of the ancient world—in comparison at least with the Middle Ages.¹⁵ This anticipates Matthew Arnold, who was to find the 'modern element' in literature fully embodied only in the age of Sophocles and Thucydides. Roman literature, he conceded, had some modern characteristics, but it did not come up to fifth-century Athens in this respect.¹⁶ It would be interesting to know at what point the Elgin Marbles came to bring the frieze more than the pediments to the educated mind. What can be said is that the romantic view of Greek sculpture fades surprisingly soon, and in the literary

reception of Greek art what may be called the Winckelmannian or neoclassical idea reasserts itself.

One man who does not quite conform to that pattern is Ruskin, but then he can never be comfortably fitted into any box. On the one hand he believed in *Altertumswissenschaft* (not that he would have cared for the word): in his Oxford lectures, he complained about the way in which the literary culture of the ancients was studied without reference to their visual art.¹⁷ He wanted a unity of literary and visual study, but his own attitude to Greek art was divided. In architecture, he allowed some dignity to the Doric order, but this style was limited, and like all the classical orders it cramped creativity. The Corinthian order was acceptable, but the Ionic order was disgusting.¹⁸ That was idiosyncratic; one notes the absence of that 'fifth-century worship' which would have put the Doric and Ionic orders together as the two perfect forms and set aside the Corinthian order as a later development. He wrote comparatively little about sculpture, other than as a decorative element of buildings (which is how it figures in *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* and *The Stones of Venice*), but in *Aratra Pentelici* he did declare that there were only two perfect periods of sculpture, the Greek and the Florentine.¹⁹ Given his gothic passion, it is a surprising judgement.

Yet it is consonant with much else in Victorian culture. For most of the century sculpture remained broadly classical, except in churches, and sometimes not even there (John Gibson's memorial statue to Sir Robert Peel, wearing a toga, was put up in gothic Westminster Abbey, as late as 1852). And sculpture seems to have been popular in this form. Even in the 1850s Ruskin allowed, reluctantly, that ordinary middle-class taste genuinely enjoyed such Greco-Roman celebrities as the Apollo Belvedere and the Venus de' Medici, as we might say today that people genuinely enjoy the French Impressionists.²⁰ Yet there was another opinion, articulated by some of the novelists: that classical sculpture was a thing for ladies and gentlemen, alien to popular taste. A key word was 'white'. It draws partly on the idea that sculpture itself is white—an idea that persisted in the literary imagination even though the realisation was growing that much Greek sculpture had been coloured. It relates to 'light', another recurrent term in evocations of ancient Greece. Whiteness characterised both sculpture, including Greek sculpture, and ancient Greek culture as a whole (we may recall that for Schlegel the art of the modern world, in contrast to antiquity, was coloured, just as it was musical). Indeed, the way that the word 'white' could move from one of these things to the other, or hover ambiguously between them, was one of its charms.

These were favourite themes in the writings of Walter Pater, whose influence ensured that the visual was at the heart of the aesthetic movement's Hellenism. This was in the first place because he chose to make his essay on Winckelmann, originally a separate composition, the last piece in his *Studies on the History of the Renaissance*, immediately before the 'Conclusion', in which he adumbrated his view of life and culture. A later essay, *The Age of Athletic*

Prizemen, showed that meditation on Greek sculpture could allow a nearer approach to directly homoerotic expression than would otherwise have been practicable. That was a piece explicitly about visual art (and implicitly about several other things); less overt, and perhaps in a way more significant, was his infusion of visual sensibility into the study of a philosopher and literary master, *Plato and Platonism*. He detected in the conclusion to Plato's *Republic* 'a quite Dantesque sensibility to coloured light—physical light or spiritual, you can hardly tell which, so perfectly is the inward sense blent with its visible counterpart'.²¹ Here gothic and classical too are consciously 'blent', as the coloured light of the Middle Ages falls across Greece's usual whiteness. Plato had decreed that the rulers of his ideal state should not have gold or silver plate; Pater turns this renunciation into an aesthetic choice:

We are not to suppose in Platonic Greece—how could we indeed anywhere within the range of Greek conception?—anything rude, uncomely, or unadorned . . . If kings and knights never drink from vessels of silver or gold, their earthen cups and platters, we may be sure, would be what we can still see.²²

It is as though Plato's guardians have been recruited to the Arts-and-Crafts Movement.

Most famously, Pater set the Mona Lisa 'beside one of those white Greek goddesses or beautiful women of antiquity'.²³ And here is Henry James posing Isobel Archer, in *The Portrait of a Lady*, 'among the shining antique marbles' of the Capitoline Gallery:

She sat down in the circle of those presences . . . resting her eyes on their beautiful blank faces; listening, as it were, to their eternal silence. It is impossible, in Rome at least, to look long at a great company of Greek sculptures without feeling the effect of their noble quietude; which, as with a high door closed for the ceremony, slowly drops on the spirit the large white mantle of peace.²⁴

'Shining', 'blank', 'silence', 'quietude', 'white', 'peace'—these are the expressive terms, and they point to an experience more or less the opposite of what Keats got from his encounter with the marbles of the Parthenon.

James had earlier handled the subject of sculpture more fully—and, it must be admitted, more stiffly—in his first novel *Roderick Hudson*, whose eponymous hero is an American sculptor living in Rome. He has a potential patron, who proposes 'a representation, in pure white marble, of the idea of Intellectual Refinement', and declares that 'Spotless marble seems to me false to itself when it represents anything less than Conscious Temperance'.²⁵ Hudson himself thinks along similar, if less moralistic, lines. In a distant echo of Schlegel he regrets the colourlessness of his art—'If I had only been a painter'—and he complains that the light, colour, and picturesque qualities of the modern Italy

around him cannot be expressed in sculptural form. He echoes the terms of Matthew Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy* too: Hudson refuses to carve a Judas, because 'The Greeks never made anything ugly, and I'm a Hellenist; I'm not a Hebraist'. Old Testament figures are also to be avoided, except for David, because 'you can think of him and treat him as a young Greek . . . he looks like a beautiful runner at the Olympic games'. A friend is more sceptical: 'There's no use trying to be a Greek. If Phidias were to come back he would recommend you to give it up'.²⁶

Roderick Hudson is not a fully believable figure, and this is in part because James's theme is really the literary response to Greek art, and Hudson is the vehicle through which this is expressed. Perhaps aware of a certain frigidity, James tries giving his hero some passion:

When Phidias and Praxiteles had their statues of goddesses unveiled . . . don't you suppose there was something more than a cold-blooded, critical flutter? The thing that there was is the thing I want to bring back. I want to thrill you, with my cold marble . . . I want to produce a sacred terror: a Hera that will make you turn blue, an Aphrodite that will make you turn—well, faint.²⁷

Here Hellenic serenity is disturbed, after all, by the Keatsian swoon.

The heroine of *Roderick Hudson* is Christina Light, whose name suggests a combination of the Hebraic and Hellenic. That in turn takes us back to George Eliot's *Middlemarch*. She too takes her heroine, Dorothea Brooke, to Rome, this time to the Vatican Gallery. Ladislav, who will eventually marry her, spots her next to a sleeping Ariadne. 'There lies antique beauty', he observes, 'not corpse-like even in death, but arrested in the complete contentment of its sensuous perfection; and here stands beauty in its breathing life, with the consciousness of Christian centuries in its bosom'.²⁸ A friend of Ladislav's develops the theme: Dorothea is 'antique form animated by Christian sentiment—a sort of Christian Antigone—sensuous force controlled by spiritual passion'.²⁹ Here the receptions of Sophocles and sculpture are combined. And there is surely a further influence: not so much Winckelmann as Winckelmann mediated through Pater. Greek art through Germany through aestheticism through George Eliot and on to James, with a dash of Arnold—it is all rather different from Keats's unmediated rapture before the thing itself.

There is another *imitatio* of George Eliot in *Roderick Hudson*. In *Felix Holt the Radical* George Eliot sits the hero's simple, uneducated mother down among some classical statues at Transome Hall. She is accompanied by two small boys, who scamper around in brightly coloured clothes, in animated contrast to the 'stony spaciousness' of the hall and its contents. There is some rather heavy-handed humour about her incomprehension and wonderment at a member of the Transome family (as she supposes) having had 'his likeness took without any clothes'.³⁰ Classical sculpture, we are to understand, is upper-class and

remote from the vigour of popular life. Roderick Hudson too has an unsophisticated mother, and James sits her amid alien marble in the Villa Borghese, 'patiently on a stool, with folded hands, looking shyly here and there at the undraped paganism around her'.³¹ We may note the recurrence of scenes set in museums; and that theme can be traced on into the twentieth century. The British Museum itself is the largest example of Greek Revival architecture in Britain, and perhaps anywhere, and when the Duveen Gallery was planned in the 1930s to house the Elgin Marbles the Revival was itself revived and the hall furnished, out of period, with columns of the purest Doric form; the American architect John Russell Pope, designer of the National Gallery and the National Archives in Washington, was imported for the purpose. This building helped to bring Greekness and museum-ness together in the literary mind.

E. M. Forster put the British Museum into two of his novels. The hero of *Maurice* falls in love with a gamekeeper (some years before Lady Chatterley) and meets him in the Museum. The son of toil is baffled: 'What's all this place?' And the educated Maurice replies, 'Old things belonging to the nation'.³² In *The Longest Journey* a philosopher visits the Museum and finds that the marble gods do not speak to him. 'He left the Parthenon to pass by the monuments of our more reticent beliefs—the Temple of the Ephesian Artemis, the statue of the Cnidian Demeter. Honest, he knew that here were powers he could not cope with'.³³ This introduces a theme that we can label 'Greeks and anthropologists'. E. R. Dodds began *The Greeks and the Irrational* in the British Museum, with a young man confessing to him that the Parthenon sculptures did not move him at all, and when asked why, explaining that they seemed too rational.³⁴

Already, before the nineteenth century was out Gilbert Murray, to whom *The Greeks and the Irrational* was to be dedicated, had compared three modern conceptions of the Greeks:

The 'serene and classical' Greek of Winckelmann and Goethe did good service to the world in his day, though we now feel him to be mainly a phantom. He has been succeeded, especially in the works of painters and poets, by an aesthetic and fleshly Greek in fine raiment, an abstract Pagan who lives to be contrasted with an equally abstract early Christian or Puritan . . . He is a phantom too . . . There is more flesh and blood in the Greek of the anthropologist, the foster-brother of Kaffirs and Hairy Ainos.³⁵

The 'aesthetic and fleshly Greek' is to be found easily enough, in Pater, Swinburne, Symonds, and Wilde, and in the paintings of Alma-Tadema, Godward, Strudwick, and others—that is, not only in Bohemia but in respectable society and comfortably at home among the upper bourgeoisie. As for 'the Greek of the anthropologists', Murray probably had Sir James Frazer mostly in mind, along with the 'Cambridge ritualists', with whom he is sometimes himself associated.

Did Kenneth Clark read Dodds? I suspect so. At all events, near the beginning of his *Civilisation* he contrasted the Apollo Belvedere with an African mask that had once belonged to Roger Fry.³⁶ The Apollo, he pointed out, had once been the most admired statue in the world, but most people today, he thought, would probably find the mask more moving. Where we can be confident of Dodds's influence is on his friend Louis MacNeice, whom he appointed to a lectureship in Greek at Birmingham University when he was professor there. In 1952 MacNeice wrote *The Other Wing*.³⁷ This poem begins with the birth of Zeus, and with a picture of Greek myth that is bright, garish, childish even:

Rat-tat-tat-tash of shields upon Ida
 Among pellmell rocks and harum-scarum
 Ibex and tettix; willy-nilly
 The infant cried while the tenterhook heaven
 Cranes through the cracks of its blue enamel
 To spot the usurper but metal on metal
 Drowns him and saves him, drowns and saves.

Then comes the birth of Athena from the head of Zeus:

Who later, enthroned in his talk-happy heaven,
 Felt suddenly harassed, a sky-splitting headache
 With nothing to cause it—and out of that nothing
 Hard-eyed and helmeted vaulted a goddess . . .

Next we move from myth to art, and from art to the museum:

. . . And the journeyman artists
 Weighed her in stone, wooed her in stone.

Or in bronze or chryselephant; hence these muted
 Miles of parquet, these careful lights,
 This aquarium of conditioned air,
 This ne plus ultra.

What MacNeice presents here is the original vitality of Greek myth. He sees this as already in part compromised by the Greek sculptors themselves, whom he does not worship with the rapture of Keats or Hazlitt before the Parthenon Marbles but assesses frankly as journeymen: his eye is not on the best of the Greek achievement but on their ordinary, typical work. This is then taken captive by the museum, as an aquarium holds captive fish.

MacNeice now turns in another direction, to the 'other wing':

But yes, Gentlemen, first on the left beyond these
 Black-figure vases . . .

The later part of the poem is difficult to understand, but this other wing contains Christian artefacts, stranger, more troubled and troubling. We seem to encounter both the anthropologists' Greece, contrasted with the cool, controlled museum, and Arnold's sweetness-and-light Greece, contrasted with a Christian world into which, in Pater's talismanic words, 'the soul with all its maladies has passed'.³⁸ The reception is now crackling with interference.

And behind all this, one suspects, lurks another influence, coming from that part of the Greek achievement which has had the most diverse and powerful appeal in the last hundred years—not visual art at all but tragedy. But that is a story for another time.

Notes

- 1 Bernal (1987) *passim*.
- 2 Haydon (1926) 207; Smith (1916) 338; St. Clair (1967) 172–9.
- 3 Jenkyns (1980) 173.
- 4 Hetland (2007).
- 5 Schlegel (1846) 22–7, Lecture 1.
- 6 Arnold (1885) 2 (sonnet *To a Friend*, line 12).
- 7 Dickens (1841) 242 (chapter 27).
- 8 Crook (1972) 22–3.
- 9 Keats (1970), 104 (*On Seeing the Elgin Marbles* lines 9–13).
- 10 Hazlitt (1930–34) vol. 16, 352–3.
- 11 *Ibid.* 353
- 12 Keats (1970) 533 (*Ode on a Grecian Urn* lines 1 and 15–20).
- 13 Colvin (1917) 264; Keats (1970) 533.
- 14 Poe (1884) 242 (*To Helen*, lines 9–10).
- 15 Hazlitt (1930–34) vol. 12, 252–61, esp. 253–4 (*On Antiquity*).
- 16 Arnold (1960) 18–37.
- 17 See Ruskin (1903–12) (*Aratra Pentelici* §78, vol. 20)
- 18 These ideas recur in Ruskin's work: see, for example, his *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (chapter 3, §21, and chapter 4, §2, vol. 8) and *The Stones of Venice* (vol. 1, chapter 1, §17 and 19, vol. 9) in Ruskin (1903–1912).
- 19 Ruskin (1903–1912) (*Aratra Pentelici*, §181).
- 20 Ruskin (1903–12) (*Modern Painters*, vol. 3 part 4; chapter. 5, §8 (vol 5).
- 21 Pater (1895) 69.
- 22 Pater (1895) 253–4.
- 23 Pater (1873) 118 ('Leonardo Da Vinci').
- 24 James (1995) 327.
- 25 James (1921) 263.

- 26 James (1921) 99–102. For Hellenism and Hebraism, compare Arnold (1965) 163–75.
- 27 James, *ibid.*
- 28 Eliot (1965) 220–1.
- 29 Eliot (1965) *ibid.*
- 30 Eliot (1980) 354.
- 31 James (1921) 337.
- 32 Forster (2005) 354.
- 33 Forster (1947) 206.
- 34 Dodds (1951) 1.
- 35 Murray (1897) viii–ix.
- 36 Clark (1969) 2.
- 37 MacNeice (1966) 459–60.
- 38 Pater (1873) 118 ('Leonardo Da Vinci').

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PART 2
Ideal and real structures
of Hellenomania



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The ideal and the real in British Hellenomania, 1751–1851

Frank Salmon

‘The best work ever printed on the Parthenon’, with ‘the most refined architectural measurements of all time’: this is how no less an authority than Manolis Korres has described the British architect Francis Cranmer Penrose’s *Investigation of the Principles of Athenian Architecture*.¹ The first edition of Penrose’s book appeared in 1851, exactly one hundred years after the arrival in Athens of two other British students of architecture, James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, to begin the recording work that led to their celebrated *Antiquities of Athens*, a project conceived with the aim of presenting the city’s ancient buildings with, they said, the utmost ‘accuracy and fidelity’.² From 1751 to 1851, then, one might well conceive of a century of proto-archaeological endeavour by British architects, intent on revealing the true—or real physical—nature of ancient Greek architecture in a single long project, uniformly scientific in character. Milestones in the British contribution between Stuart and Penrose included the first drawing of entasis in the columns of the Parthenon by Charles Robert Cockerell in 1814, the notice of the columns’s inward inclination by Thomas Leverton Donaldson around 1820, and John Pennethorne’s observations on stylobate and entablature curvature, published in 1844. Indeed, Penrose himself evidently believed that just such a continuum had existed from Stuart and Revett to his own time, in that he listed these successive discoveries and gave as the motivation for his own work ‘to fill up what had been left imperfect by Stuart and Revett’.³

For their part, and with very few exceptions, contemporaries accepted without question Stuart’s and Revett’s claims of ‘accuracy’ in their measurements to the hundredth or even to the thousandth of an inch—and also suggested that this new ‘fidelity’, or truth, had replaced a longstanding idealised notion of Greek architecture. Stephen Riou, for example, a personal witness of what he called Stuart’s and Revett’s ‘diligence and accuracy’ when in Greece, said in 1768 that Stuart, ‘three centuries after the revival of letters was the first to explore amongst the ruins of Athens and to publish to the world the genuine forms of Grecian architecture exactly delineated’.⁴ As Riou’s mention of the ‘revival of letters’ indicates, prior to the middle of the eighteenth century the British had held notional ideas of Grecian architecture which came from the philological tradition of Renaissance Humanism, not from any actual image of

Greek buildings—about which so little was known before 1751.⁵ This form of idealism is well illustrated by John Closterman's portrait of the Neo-Platonist philosopher, the Third Earl of Shaftesbury, together with his brother, today in the collection of the National Portrait Gallery in London. The earl, whose 'Letter concerning the Art or Science of Design' (written in 1713 though not published until 1732) embodies the inaugural British call for Neoclassicism in architecture, was shown in generically Arcadian setting and clothes, complete with a simple Ionic temple in the background, all such as might have been painted by Nicolas Poussin.

Acceptance of the great accuracy of Stuart's surveyed measurements and representations of actual ancient Greek buildings, whilst critiqued in some twentieth-century archaeological circles,⁶ has nonetheless remained a key plank of much recent architectural and cultural history, where it is seen as part of an Enlightenment scientific endeavour that countered the dominant British aesthetic mode of the Picturesque, with its creative approach to topography.⁷ Stuart and Revett also remain nationalistically juxtaposed with their French contemporary Julien-David Le Roy, whose rival book *Les ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce* was supposedly lacking in empirical accuracy.⁸ These understandings, however, only take at face value what Stuart himself said he was doing in the text and notes of *The Antiquities of Athens*. Work on this material in recent years by the present writer, alongside that of colleagues and sometimes co-authors Jason Kelly and David Yeomans, has been concerned with what might be called the sub-texts of Stuart's work, as deduced from his surviving field notes and working papers, and their relationship with the finally printed versions.⁹ Of the fifty-four Stuart notebooks that are known to have survived into the nineteenth century only two can now be traced—as well as some loose papers and proof plates. However, in the cases of all the buildings or elements of buildings that have been studied in detail, it has been found that important aspects of the information provided in *The Antiquities of Athens* resulted not from simple transcription of data taken in the field onto the published plates, but rather from working assumptions about Greek architectural practice or from mathematical calculations on Stuart's part, some made whilst in Greece and others during the years that elapsed back in London before the first volume was published in 1762 and the second in 1789.

In other words, Stuart replaced the archaising idealism of the first half of the eighteenth century not with the modern, 'scientific' standard that many scholars have assumed, but with idealising frameworks of his own that, arguably, perpetuated rather than replaced what Joseph Mordaunt Crook called 'the academic idea' of the ideal, as 'established by the Renaissance'.¹⁰ As will be seen, some of Stuart's ideals proved to be remarkably resilient in British architectural and antiquarian circles. However, in the first forty years of the nineteenth century they were all deconstructed, as important aspects of Greek architectural practice 'missed' by Stuart and Revett, such as curvature and polychromy, were progressively discovered or acknowledged, and the physical

‘reality’ of Greek architecture was made plain. That early nineteenth-century timeframe coincided with the period when the Greek Revival rose from its tentative later eighteenth-century beginnings to become hegemonic in British Neoclassicism, and it might be expected that the new understandings would have been incorporated into the many neo-Grecian buildings that were erected. In fact, as will be seen in the second part of this chapter, it is far from clear that this is what happened. Instead, new ideas, if not ideals, about the character and beauty of Greek architecture arose under the growing impact of Romanticism. Meanwhile, for architects to succeed in practice their buildings needed to be pragmatic in fulfilling modern-day functions—and these concerns can be seen to have been more important than the ‘academic’ notion of precise emulation for which the Greek Revival is often criticised.

From modern ideals to ancient realities: measuring buildings in Greece

In order, then, to understand the premises on which James Stuart approached ancient Greek architecture, it is necessary to back-track to the later years of his long residence in Rome in the 1740s. There, Stuart had transformed himself from an itinerant fan painter and reproductive engraver to a classical scholar, proficient in Latin. When the Obelisk of Pharaoh Psammetichus II was rediscovered and excavated from the Campus Martius in 1748, Stuart, having been asked to make illustrations for the proposed publication, actually made precise measurements to the hundredth of the English foot and wrote a learned essay that was included alongside the thoughts of fifteen other antiquarians.¹¹ Quite how Stuart acquired the skills of surveying necessary to make such measurements is unknown—but his primacy in this, among the rising tide of British antiquarian endeavour in the Mediterranean, is important to note. His work on the obelisk predated the late 1749 arrival in Rome of Robert Wood, whose claims to accurate measurement in *The Ruins of Palmyra* and *The Ruins of Balbec* are generally said today to have influenced *The Antiquities of Athens* because they were published first. It was most likely the other way around. Moreover, Wood’s measurements were made in English feet, inches, and fractions of the inch (‘lines’) to the twelfth (as Antoine Desgodetz had done in French feet in the late seventeenth century), whereas Stuart established, with the obelisk, the higher standard he would later apply in Athens by measuring in English feet, inches, and decimal divisions of the inch to the hundredth part.

In addition to minute measurement, a critical aspect of Stuart’s work on the obelisk was his attempt to understand the monument not just in its present physical condition but in terms of the functional context provided for it by Pliny the Elder’s description of it as the gnomon to the great Augustan Campus Martius sundial. When he began planning for his fieldwork in Athens, Stuart also consulted Pliny, as well as other literary sources—Pausanias foremost

among them but also Strabo, Plutarch, and Thucydides. This was and is perfectly good archaeological practice for monuments made in an era of written texts, of course, but there are grounds for suggesting that when actually in Athens and after his return to England Stuart gave greater weight to the ancient texts than he did to the physical evidence. In his manuscript notes on the Tower of the Winds, for example, Stuart recorded Plutarch's and Vitruvius's comments on ancient water clocks before stating that 'I cannot but suspect that there has been a Water clock in this building'. The incontrovertible evidence that this was so, which he and Revett had uncovered in their excavation, only 'seem[ed] . . . to confirm this notion'.¹² When finally writing the account up for publication, Stuart still felt that 'the silence of Vitruvius, in Relation to the Existence of so curious a Machine in this Place, it must be confessed, seems no Way favourable to this Conjecture'.¹³ He seemed to be on the point of dismissing the result of what his excavation had quite obviously revealed. Fortunately, however, he had discovered in the intervening years that Varro had described the Tower as a 'Horologium' in his *De re rustica*, written earlier than Vitruvius, so the documentary proof that Stuart required had been found and all was well.

As this case shows, it was the text of Vitruvius, above all, that dictated the way Stuart approached the buildings of Athens—and in this respect he was a man of his time for, in the *Critical Review* notice of Robert Sayer's 1759 *Ruins of Athens*, we find it asserted that Greek antiquities were more valuable than Roman ones in that they represented 'the precepts of Vitruvius reduced into practice; precepts that are founded upon eternal laws, and coeval and coexisting with the ideas of beauty itself'.¹⁴ In Stuart's day, as now, there could be no certainty that Vitruvius's knowledge of the city's architecture had been gained at first hand, however. In justification of his approach, therefore, Stuart observed that Vitruvius himself said he had 'taken the Precepts of his Art, not from the Romans, but from the Grecian authors'.¹⁵ So Vitruvius was taken to be a vicarious authority for all things Greek. In their 1751 proposals for the *Antiquities*, written before their departure for Greece, Stuart and Revett had stated that their intention was to make the Athenian monuments 'useful, and intelligible, which will be chiefly done by pointing out the relation they may have to the Doctrine of Vitruvius, or the Description of Pausanias, Strabo etc.'. ¹⁶ Four years later, on their return to England, this wording was changed in their re-issued proposals to 'pointing out [the buildings'] conformity' to the doctrine of Vitruvius.¹⁷ In other words the guidance of Vitruvius, hypothetical and up for investigation at the outset of the fieldwork, had become canonical by its termination.

One instance where this approach cost Stuart dearly was the case of the Temple of Jupiter Olympius in Athens, the plan of which he published in the second volume of the *Antiquities* and to which he intended to return in the third volume before death left the clearing up to his successor, Willey Reveley. In the second volume the temple is shown as decastyle and, in line with Vitruvius's specification for the hypaethral temple type, with twenty-one

columns in the flanks. In order to get to this conclusion, however, Stuart had first had to find a way of overcoming the statement that this particular building had been octastyle rather than decastyle in those versions of Vitruvius on which he usually most depended: Daniele Barbaro's Latin and Claude Perrault's French editions. In a textual manoeuvre apparently of unprecedented complexity for the *Antiquities*, Stuart adduced seven Vitruvius manuscripts and blamed mis-transcriptions in the printed versions of Fra Giocondo and Philander in making a case that, in this instance, Vitruvius had been speaking not of one but of two temples: an otherwise unidentified octastyle in Athens and the Temple of Jupiter at Olympia in the Peloponnese, which Stuart said 'appears evidently to have had no more than eight columns in front'.¹⁸ A second problem was that Stuart had in hand Revett's ink plan, made in situ and showing only twenty columns in each flank. This was more straightforwardly overcome by the simple addition of the twenty-first column in red chalk before the drawing was sent to be engraved, the evidence taken in the field thereby being entirely overridden! As Penrose discovered in 1883, the Athenian temple *was* indeed an exceptional octastyle and *did* have twenty columns in each flank, exactly as Revett had recorded it, so Stuart's determined attempt to comply with Vitruvius's rules led him to error on both counts (not to mention in having described the Temple of Jupiter at Olympia as 'evidently' octastyle when it was, in fact, hexastyle). Perhaps it is not surprising that at the very start of the discipline of classical archaeology the balance should have rested more on ancient literature than on material remains, but Stuart's philological faith in texts does represent an idealisation of the Greek world, in which architects were expected to have behaved in line with common and inviolable theoretical precepts. An important side effect of this idealisation, moreover, was Stuart's lack of interest in dating the Athenian monuments so as to place them in specific historical contexts—something that set him completely at odds with his French rival Julien-David Le Roy.

The second respect in which Stuart can be said to have idealised Greek architecture lies in the extent to which he expected to find mathematical perfection in the land of Pythagorus. Some dimensions in a standing building are, strictly speaking, unmeasurable (such as the thickness of a wall), and have to be calculated from other measurements, but Stuart's use of calculation in producing *The Antiquities of Athens* went far beyond that. In the case of the Theatre of 'Bacchus' [Herodes Atticus], for example, his field notes survive (Figure 4.1). Notwithstanding that the building was much submerged and occupied by an Ottoman garrison in the 1750s, it is striking to observe, as David Yeomans has done, that only two dimensions were directly measured—the rest being derived trigonometrically using Pythagorus.¹⁹ Indeed, we can even infer that Stuart was working with a table of logsines to hand in Athens, but lacked one of tangents. His table gave seven places in the mantissa, leading to the sort of excessively lengthy calculations that appear throughout his surviving field notes. The loss of all but two of the fifty-four notebooks Stuart left at his death

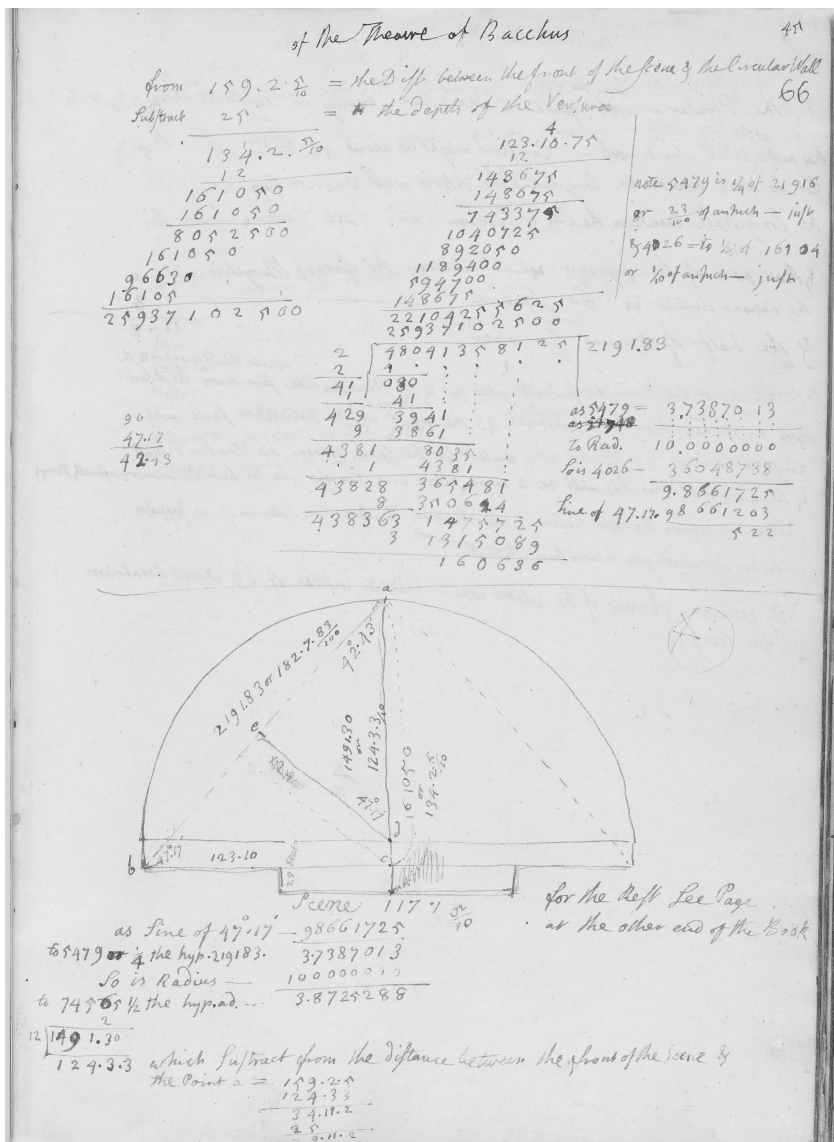


Figure 4.1 James Stuart: Plan of the Theatre of 'Bacchus' [Herodes Atticus] at Athens and calculations, c.1751–1755

Source: Field notebook, Edinburgh University Library, Laing Collection, fol. 66v

makes it impossible to determine just how widespread this practice was, but there is evidence that he continued to assume, back in England, that calculation would produce ‘true’ results. A proof plate for the Tower of the Winds survives in the British Library, presumably dating from the late 1750s or early 1760s.²⁰ Stuart found that the sum of the parts did not add up and that he was missing the dimension for the width of the roof on each of the eight sides of the octagon. Another long calculation was therefore used at the foot of the sheet to derive the figure which, rounded, then appeared on the plate as finally published.

The likelihood that some, perhaps many, of the figures given in *The Antiquities of Athens* were derived by calculation or altered to come into line with a mathematical ideal must lead to the question of Stuart’s and Revett’s much vaunted claims to accuracy in having measured the remains to the hundredth or thousandth of the inch. It needs to be recalled just what a tiny dimension is represented even by the hundredth of an inch—a much smaller gap than exists between the dots around the rim of a British five-pence piece (almost the same size as a Euro two-cents coin or a dime) (Figure 4.2). In view of the likely imperceptibility to the eye of further subdivision by a factor of ten, acceptance by their contemporaries of their claims to have measured to the thousandth must rest on the known availability of such devices that worked by process of ‘misalignment’, such as a Vernier scale. Had Stuart and Revett had such an



Figure 4.2 Detail of an eighteenth-century brass ruler, showing an English inch divided into tenths and hundredths (and a French inch divided into twelfths), with a British 5 pence piece for scale

Source: Photograph by author

instrument with them in Athens, however, they would have surely reported it (as they were proud to do their brass rule divided into hundredths by John Bird, London's foremost instrument maker of the day). Instead, it is noteworthy that when thousandths appear on the plates in *The Antiquities of Athens* they are often simple quarter divisions of the hundredths, as though approximated. It is not being suggested here that *The Antiquities of Athens* is an entirely fallacious document; some modern-day archaeologists have indeed dismissed Stuart's and Revett's measurements as inaccurate, but in other cases they have been found to be very close to figures achieved with the use of modern technology. The point is just that we have to understand their results within the idealising frameworks that Stuart had set up, one aspect of which was a belief that Greek architecture embodied mathematical coherence *sui generis*. Indeed, Jason Kelly has christened Stuart's evident belief that minute measurement and coherence could lead to 'truth' and 'taste' as forming an 'aesthetic of empeiria', in which 'the beauties that would appeal to the . . . readership were the researchers' exact descriptions'.²¹ This approach, taking up earlier, Baconian rhetorics of empiricism, was part of the mid-century attempt to make the new practice of archaeology 'a scientific pursuit on a par with natural history', a process to which Revett was to contribute further with the measurements he made for the Society of Dilettanti's 1764–1766 expedition to Asia Minor, as published in the first part of *Antiquities of Ionia* in 1769.²²

The notion of what might be called a conceptual aesthetic in Stuart's work leads to one final area of idealisation on his part, which has been left to last because it is better known: the visual aesthetic—the physical appearance of the monuments and an understanding of what constituted visual beauty in them.²³ Surely only a Winckelmannian belief in the supremacy of whiteness can account for Stuart's and Revett's failure to pursue the clear evidence of polychromy they reported finding on the Ionic Temple by the Ilissus and that they also observed on the Hephaisteion and the Parthenon. Similarly, an overriding aesthetic ideal of rectilinearity must explain why their minute surveys did not reveal the subtle curvatures of the architecture, notwithstanding the encumbered state in which they found the Athenian buildings and the difficulties they experienced in accessing them fully. Perhaps they shared Winckelmann's anthropomorphic belief that a swollen 'belly' would give 'no grace to the columns' and, indeed, although Winckelmann saw the Greek temples at Paestum on three separate occasions, he appears not to have observed or recognised their entasis.²⁴ Or perhaps Stuart and Revett took the more mechanistic view of Stephen Riou—who had also seen real Greek columns but denied that any exemplified entasis, because the effect would suggest that the columns were 'oppressed by the incumbent weight'.²⁵ It should be recognised, in fairness, that Stuart and Revett apparently did not reach Paestum themselves—where the entasis of the Temple of Hera I is more extreme than in any other Greek example—and even Penrose exonerated them by saying of the great Athenian temples that 'the curvature is scarcely appreciable, except by its

indirect effects, even to the most practised eye'.²⁶ But the fact is that Stuart and Revett *should* have been looking for it, since Vitruvius clearly described entasis in columns (as well as the upward curvature of the stylobate) as practised by the Greeks, and they surely developed a 'practised eye' over their three years in Greece. It seems that the aesthetic ideal was so strong that it even overcame the philological ideal in this respect.

It puts Stuart's visual aesthetic ideals into perspective when it is appreciated that they survived in the British understanding of ancient Greek architecture well into the next generation of architect-archaeologists. In his 1807 *Antiquities of Magna Graecia*, for example, William Wilkins argued that the Temple of Hera I post-dated the Roman conquest of Paestum, thereby continuing to deny that the Greeks had deployed entasis. It has been suggested elsewhere by the present writer that C. R. Cockerell's 1814 drawing finally showing entasis at the Parthenon may have been made in response to a request for information from Wilkins when he was preparing his book *Atheniensiæ* and his translation of Vitruvius. In the latter, published between 1813 and 1817, Wilkins had come to accept the Temple of Hera I as Greek but now described it as 'the production of an age, when the pure taste of the Greeks had ceased to operate'.²⁷ Even as Wilkins laboured on his Vitruvius in England, however, Francis Bedford was observing entasis in the columns of the Propylaea at Eleusis, when acting as draftsman from 1811 to 1813 for the Society of Dilettanti's *Unedited Antiquities of Attica*, published in 1817. The text makes a point of noting, by way of contrast, that the columns of other Doric monuments studied diminished in lines that were 'perfectly straight'.²⁸ Similarly, when H. W. Inwood travelled to Athens to study the Erechtheion in 1819, he found that 'the columns of this temple from their entasis appear to rise in graceful curving lines'.²⁹ Entasis was here presented as a given, not as a surprise—even though it was only five years since Cockerell had noted it at the Erechtheion and thus, for the first time it seems, in the Greek Ionic as opposed to the Greek Doric order, and even though that discovery had not yet been published. The subject must have been being widely discussed in London architectural circles, a sign of the importance attached to a discovery that rendered the previous understanding an ideal rather than a reality.

Acceptance of the polychromatic nature of ancient Greek architecture, as opposed to the Winckelmannian white aesthetic that Stuart had done nothing to counter, took far longer to occur than the recognition of entasis—and was still not fully integrated into the British understanding of Greek architecture by the time Penrose was at work. The Philhellene early nineteenth-century arbiter of taste, the Earl of Aberdeen, writing in his 1822 *Inquiry Into the Principles of Beauty in Grecian Architecture* (though the text here unchanged from its first appearance ten years previously as the introduction to Wilkins's translation of Vitruvius) said that:

the colour [of the Parthenon], although now somewhat softened by the effects of time and weather, was formerly the most bright and glaring which

it is possible to imagine, viz. the dazzling whiteness of the marble of Pentelicus, no[t] otherwise diversified than by the lights and shadows produced by the various masses which composed the whole edifice.³⁰

Architects reaching Greece after the Napoleonic Wars, however, could no longer deny or fail to observe the evidence of polychromy. George Ledwell Taylor and Edward Cresy, in Greece in 1819, wrote that

we continually discovered ornaments painted on the most delicately cut mouldings; some very perfect specimens of which remained on the Parthenon. We cannot now say what the effect of colour might have been, when coupled with that architecture of which purity has hitherto been considered the peculiar characteristic. To produce splendour by such means has not generally been attributed to the Greeks.³¹

This equivocal observation was not published until 1829, the end of the decade in which French academic debate had been convulsed by the issue of polychromy in Greek architecture. It was not until 1836 that the newly established Institute of British Architects set up a 'Polychrome Committee' to investigate the question, concluding in 1837, on the basis of chemical analysis by Michael Faraday of fragments brought home by T. L. Donaldson, that 'the surface of the marble of the shafts of the columns of the Theseum and other parts of the edifices from which these specimens were taken, were covered with a colored coating.'³² Thus when Joseph Gwilt published his *Encyclopaedia of Architecture* in 1842 it was frankly acknowledged that 'it was the practice of the Greeks to paint the whole of the inside and the outside of their temples in party colours', but this fact was still left 'to the consideration of the student as a curious and interesting circumstance, but certainly without a belief that it could add a charm to the stupendous simplicity and beauty of such a building as the Parthenon.'³³

The question of the relationship between measurement and calculation in the production of dimensions for archaeological folio publication in the early nineteenth century remains to be researched in detail, but some provisional conclusions can be offered. Handed the unenviable task of editing Stuart's fifty-four notebooks and loose papers in order to produce a fourth volume of *The Antiquities of Athens* in 1816, Joseph Woods seems not to have obsessed about mathematical coherence as had his predecessor. In the case of Stuart's surviving manuscript memoranda on the Roman Temple of Rome and Augustus at Pola, David Yeomans has shown that Stuart calculated the length of the building by adding together ten separate component elements. In the version printed by Woods, however, one of these dimensions was reduced by just over an inch and the overall figure increased by just under an inch.³⁴ Whatever the reason for this (and Yeomans speculates that it was because he was working from more than one set of figures), it is clear that Woods did not trouble to double-check the arithmetic to ensure that the whole was the sum of the parts,

as Stuart undoubtedly would have done. But if this was a very particular situation, in that one man was trying to make sense of another's approach, what can be said of the upsurge in field surveying at this period? An example that may be convenient to consider is Francis Bedford's survey of the lower Theatre at Cnidus (Figure 4.3), since this makes for interesting comparison with Stuart's field notes on the Theatre of Herodes Atticus in Athens (Figure 4.1). Made during the Society of Dilettanti's 1811–1813 expedition to Asia Minor, Bedford's sheet is a not untypical example of his drawn-up notes in that it contains, naturally, numerous measurements—but relatively few calculations. The sum that appears at the lower right extremity, for example, is a simple addition of three long measurements of over 60 feet each in order to produce the total width of the theatre between its retaining walls, the result then being transcribed back onto the plan (and reproduced on the version finally published in the 1840 volume of *Antiquities of Ionia*). Another calculation (not present on the sheet itself) has been used just above in order to produce the centre-to-centre intercolumniation of 7.5.8 (7 feet, 5 inches, and 8 hundredths of an inch) for the eleven columns of the enclosure, derived by dividing by ten the total length of 74 feet 10 inches (again both dimensions were reproduced on the published version). Calculation was here preferred because Bedford doubtless considered it more accurate than trying to measure distances between the centre points deep inside the columns against their outside edges. Meanwhile, at the top left of the sheet the widths and heights of the steps in the

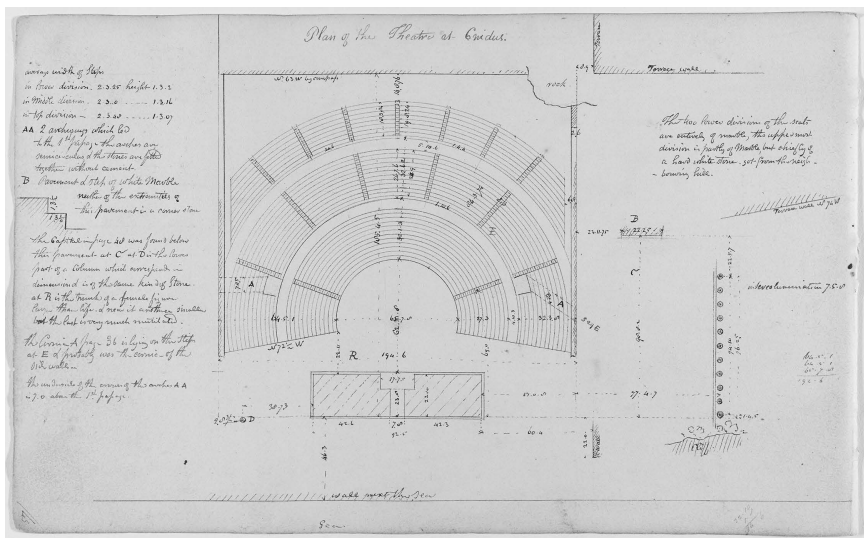


Figure 4.3 Francis Bedford: Plan of the Lower Theatre at Cnidus, c.1811–1813

Source: Royal Institute of British Architects Drawings Collection, SD108/24v

three 'divisions' of seating are given as averages. Noted on the plan itself, the width across the entire rows of seats, for example of the middle division, given on the centre line as 26.7.6, appears to have been measured (presumably with a chain) across the upward slope, and the width of the flat walkway above (5.10.6) then added in order to produce a total dimension from the foot of the lowest step in the middle division to the foot of the lowest step of the upper division of 32.6.2 feet.³⁵

As can be seen from this example, there are no trigonometrical manoeuvres of the length and complexity deployed by Stuart to produce dimensions at the Theatre of Herodes Atticus (Figure 4.1). To be fair to Stuart, he was working with much more ruinous and overgrown fabric than was Bedford at Cnidus, but this does not obscure the fact that Stuart was using his survey not just to gain dimensions but also to try to elucidate Vitruvius's description of the setting out of Greek and Roman theatres. This brings us to the final ideal of Stuart taken apart in the early nineteenth century: the sacrosanct status of Vitruvius. That this dethroning occurred very soon in the century is clear from Aberdeen's *Inquiry*, originally written (as has been seen above) as the introduction to Wilkins's edition of part of the Roman text which began appearing in 1812. There Aberdeen wrote of Vitruvius that:

A multitude of uncertain traditions are collected and detailed without being submitted to any test by which their fallacy may be detected: we are bewildered by the opposition of opinions and statements, equally positive and contradictory. But while we are careful not to pay to these authorities the respect due to historical truth, they ought, in an inquiry into this subject, by no means to be cast aside; they form, such as it is, the chief body of the information we possess; and they become doubly valuable when their internal probability is corroborated by illustrations incidentally afforded by contemporary writers, or by the known peculiarities of ancient monuments.³⁶

This approach to Vitruvius, sceptical about his dictates and yet open to the possibility they could have been relevant, set the mode for the scholarship that followed (and that is effectively still deployed today). A good example of the effect of this changed understanding can be found T. L. Donaldson's 1833 *Collection of the Most Approved Examples of Doorway From Ancient Buildings in Greece and Italy*. Donaldson prefaced the book with a new translation of Vitruvius's chapter on doorways, the meaning of which, he said, had frustrated previous translators. He noted Vitruvius's rules on the contraction of the doorframes, but subjected them to scrutiny according to the comparative evidence he had gathered in the field. That evidence included the access he had gained to the beautiful door of the Erechtheion's tetrastyle (north) portico, which Stuart had not been able to see. Donaldson reported that the proportions were totally different from those specified by Vitruvius for Ionic doorways and were, in fact, closer to those reported by the Roman author to be for Doric doors. So, what Donaldson called this 'most splendid example of Greek taste' had been

produced by architects who either did not know about or simply did not subscribe to the rules later propounded by Vitruvius, and the Roman writer's cardinal authority, accepted by James 'Athenian' Stuart as one of a series of ideals about Greek architecture he had promoted, was over.³⁷

From Ancient Ideals to Modern Realities: Building Grecian in Britain

At the time of Donaldson's publication, the Greek Revival was at its climax in Britain, leading to the question of the extent to which the new understandings of the 'reality' of ancient Greek architectural practice that had arisen affected the reality of contemporary British architectural design. An optimal vehicle to use for a brief exploration of this issue is the project to build a Scottish National Monument on the Calton Hill promontory at the east end of the New Town of Edinburgh, of which only a fragment was eventually completed (Figure 4.4; see also the chapter by Lambrinou in this volume).³⁸ The designer was C. R. Cockerell, deeply implicated in the new discoveries about Greek architectural practice as has been seen, but working with the local architect William Henry



Figure 4.4 Charles Robert Cockerell and William Henry Playfair: Scottish National Monument, Calton Hill, Edinburgh, 1826–1829

Source: Photograph by author

Playfair who never visited Greece. Moreover, the project was conceived by the committee promoting it as a 'facsimile' of the Parthenon, thereby raising wider questions of emulation of Greek architecture in the nineteenth century, as well as of concepts of what constituted beauty within it. Finally, in addition to the project being well documented archivally, it was the cause of Cockerell's preparing what is probably his first theoretical account of Greek architecture, dated August 1823. This survives in unpublished form and opens in the following way:

In adopting the Parthenon of Athens as the model of the national monument proposed to be erected on the Calton Hill, it may be well to consider some of those principles which appear to have directed the Greeks generally [sic], in the choice of a system, & proportions of architecture which have so fixed the admiration of mankind and to investigate more particularly the scheme & circumstances of the original, which is now to be adapted to the intended purpose: by means of the [replacing of those] information[s] which former publications & [the] late discoveries [erasures] have made known to us.³⁹

Much has been made of Cockerell's wish to make the Scottish National Monument 'a free translation of the original' and, in view of the brilliant eclecticism of his later design work, it has been suggested that the Edinburgh work exemplifies his 'antecedent lack of enthusiasm' for such literalism.⁴⁰ Since, however, reproduction of the precise dimensions of the Parthenon was a required part of the design, the notion of 'free translation' can only ever have applied to the internal arrangement of the new building. Moreover, there are grounds for believing that, unless Cockerell was being entirely insincere, he was committed to the idea that close replication of the Parthenon was something worth doing (or at least worth doing once). In 1826 he wrote to Playfair: 'It is not unreasonable to suppose you or I can ever be engaged in a nobler undertaking—& seeing in the history of our country & predecessor [architects] how few have had the opportunity.'⁴¹ That opportunity included the chance to try out the latest discoveries about the optical refinements of Greek architecture—both his own recognition of entasis and Donaldson's identification of the inward lean of the outer columns. On 26 October 1826 Playfair wrote to Cockerell:

What I have to request of you now is that you would send me immediately the documents brought home by Mr Donaldson respecting the inclination inwards of the columns towards the cell with your own remarks upon that particular. And also the quantity of the swell of the shaft and the nature and manner of describing the curve. Without this information I cannot stir a step.⁴²

Playfair's specification to the mason had already stated that the columns were 'to be roughly fluted in the first instance . . . making a full allowance for the

swell', then worked down so that 'the outline of the columns [will be] perfectly correct as to the swell or curve', because 'the whole beauty of the Columns will depend upon the accuracy with which the operation shall be performed'.⁴³ However, his working drawings, dated July 1826 (Figure 4.5), do not represent the entasis and, in the building as executed, it does not appear to be present.⁴⁴

Given the stated cardinal importance of the entasis to 'the whole beauty of the Columns', it must be asked why Playfair did not follow through on this aspect of the replication. One answer is that there was uncertainty as to how curvature of this degree of delicacy (the swell at the Parthenon is a mere 1.6 to 1.7 centimetres over a height of 9.6 metres) was to be set out graphically or executed by the masons. Cockerell himself could give Playfair no clear instruction on this matter and, although H. W. Inwood offered a possible method at the same time in his 1827 publication on the Erechtheion, this seems incomprehensible to anyone else.⁴⁵ Playfair also confessed himself 'monstrously puzzled about the sloping inwards of the columns of the Parthenon', telling Cockerell in May 1827 he was waiting to hear 'how I am to deal with the four corner columns' in Edinburgh.⁴⁶ A more significant consideration, however, might be that there was a concurrent realisation that 'the whole beauty of the Columns' did *not*, in fact, depend on their entasis or their inclination. Certainly there seems to have been no consistency in the way that architects who had actually

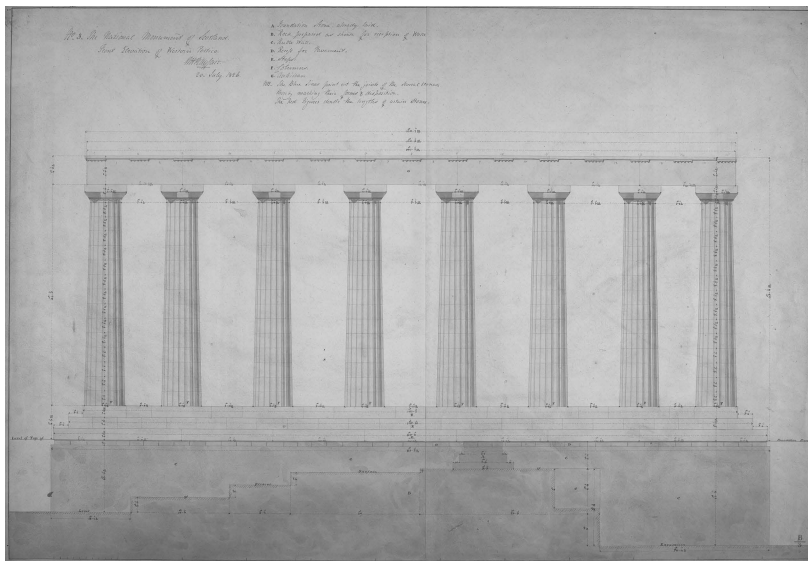


Figure 4.5 William Henry Playfair: contract drawing for Scottish National Monument, 20 July 1826

Source: Edinburgh University Library, Playfair Drawings 1488

studied entasis in Greece applied it—or did not—in their subsequent buildings. Inwood may have used it at the Camden Chapel (1822–1824), as Bedford appears to have done at St John Waterloo Road in 1823–1824 (Figure 4.6), but it is evidently not present in Bedford’s coeval Doric church of St George



Figure 4.6 Francis Bedford: St John, Waterloo Road, London, 1823–1824

Source: Photograph by author

Camberwell, or in either of his surviving Corinthian churches. Nor has any example of entasis yet been observed in a Greek Revival building erected by an architect who had not himself studied in Greece. When William Jenkins published five comparative examples of Greek entasis in the 1830 supplementary volume to *The Antiquities of Athens*, he decided that 'it never was the intention of the Grecian architects to produce any other effect to the eye of the beholder than that of a straight line'.⁴⁷ Aberdeen, meanwhile, in a comment added to the 1822 edition of his *Inquiry Into the Principles of Beauty in Grecian Architecture* after learning of Cockerell's recording of entasis at the Parthenon, had written of its 'scarcely distinguishable' entasis that there was 'no doubt that it was thought to be important in its effect'. He could not, of course, actually say that the Greeks were wrong in this thinking and that their level of entasis made no real difference, so he added the statement that this was 'a proof of the highly refined and delicate perception of the Greeks', almost a matter of faith.⁴⁸ Thus began what Mary Beard has called the modern belief in the 'mystical sophistication mastered by the Parthenon's architects', even as attempts made to replicate these 'realities' in the 1820s were being set aside as unnecessary in the light of the new ideas about the beauty of Greek architecture which were coming into play.⁴⁹

Such a view would seem to be borne out by the case of Cockerell himself. Although he had opened his 1823 essay on Greek architecture by referring to replacing, in the proposed Edinburgh building, elements based on 'former publications' with the 'late discoveries', he did not go on to expand upon those new discoveries at all. Indeed, as David Watkin long ago observed, Cockerell seems never to have returned to the technical question of entasis in Greek architecture which he himself had done so much to explore, even in his lectures to students at the Royal Academy in the 1840s and 1850s.⁵⁰ Instead, his text develops a different set of principles that he held to constitute the beauty and achievements of Greek architecture: the potential of the building to answer its site and attain sublimity; magnificence in materiality and precision in construction; the integration of architecture and sculpture so as to encapsulate both the history and the aspirations of a people. Cockerell wrote 'there can be little doubt that [the Parthenon] was the most perfect work (as calculated to its particular situation) that was ever erected; a rare coincidence of happy circumstances having contributed to the execution of the most exact symmetry [sic] the world had seen.'⁵¹ Exact symmetry here was a combination of tectonic, geographical, and cultural qualities, an entirely different understanding from Stuart's mathematical 'aesthetic of empeiria'. These recognisably Romantic ideas, shared in some part with those being put forward in print at the same time by Aberdeen, were what Cockerell believed would be 'the real cause of the universal approbation which the idea of placing a Parthenon on the Calton Hill has excited' and this early exploration of them made it a worthwhile, even a 'noble' thing to do.⁵² They were also the ideas that underpinned Cockerell's subsequent oeuvre as the most sophisticated practitioner of classical architecture in nineteenth-century Britain.

The fidelity of the Scottish National Monument (in its exterior form and dimensions) to its prototype was, of course, a unique occurrence in British architecture and one which, crudely understood, has helped to give the Greek Revival in Britain a bad name as unimaginatively reproductive. As early as 1822, in fact, J. B. Papworth was complaining that ‘the contents of Stuart’s and Revett’s *Antiquities of Athens* are over and over again copied for any and every purpose’.⁵³ It was certainly the case that Stuart and Revett continued to provide the raw materials for the practice of Greek Revival architecture throughout the nineteenth century. The 1813 contract for Dundalk Courthouse in Ireland (Figure 4.7), for example, specified that ‘the said building shall be executed according to the patterns and true proportions of the Rules of Grecian Architecture as they are to be collected from the Ruins of the City of Athens.’ The contractor, it goes on, ‘will confine himself to the exact direction of the Architect’, and the architect (Edward Parke) will certify that all ornamental details will follow ‘the true Forms and Proportions expressed as and for such Members and Decorations respectively in a work entitled “Stewart’s *Antiquities of Athens*”’.⁵⁴ Whilst this case predated the post-Napoleonic discoveries that undermined Stuart’s authority, it serves as a useful reminder that *The Antiquities of Athens* continued to provide the most comprehensive and accessible surveys of many of the Greek buildings that most appealed



Figure 4.7 Edward Parke: Courthouse, Dundalk, Ireland, 1813–1819

Source: Photograph by Richard Butler

to the Romantic sensibility of the early nineteenth century for their beauty and recognisability—and especially so in provincial contexts away from the circle of *cognoscenti* in London who were clearly becoming aware of Stuart's shortcomings. Even Cockerell, who had made his own detailed study of the Parthenon when in Athens, was obliged to depend on Stuart for some of the dimensions used in the Scottish National Monument—following him precisely, for example, for both the regular and the corner intercolumniations of the front as erected (Figure 4.5).⁵⁵ Continuing use of Stuart, in other words, did not necessarily mean continuing commitment to the ideals he had applied to ancient Greek architecture.

It might also be questioned, finally, just what Papworth meant when he spoke of the contents of *The Antiquities of Athens* being 'over and over again copied'. Certainly the Dundalk Courthouse (Figure 4.7) has a Doric portico modelled, as would appear, on that of the Hephaisteion, but beyond that the resemblances between the historical precedent and the new building do not continue—the portico meeting the transverse walls and being visually surmounted by the pair of top-lit, slate-roofed courtrooms. Even Greek Revival buildings more closely modelled on the Greek temple prototype, such as churches, depart from their models in some very fundamental ways. One of these was in the modern, Christian requirement for a bell tower, a requirement that gave nineteenth-century architects a chance to produce formal solutions unknown in Antiquity. Of Bedford's St John Waterloo Road (Figure 4.6), John Summerson wrote that it had a tower 'which does its best to be the *kind* of tower Ictinus *might* have put on the Parthenon *if* the Athenians had had the advantage of belonging to the Church of England!'⁵⁶ Another key feature of Greek Revival church design, of course, was the need for windows in the northern clime, so that the congregation could see to read their prayer-books. The only example of Greek windows found in Stuart's *Antiquities* were those of the west front of the Erechtheion—and in Inwood's 1827 monograph on that building they were still the only ancient Greek windows that could be cited.⁵⁷ Inwood himself had had to confront the window problem at his St Pancras Church, and when one considers the cliff-like side elevations they seem almost the antithesis of ancient Greek architectural sensibility, even of the unusual south elevation of the Erechtheion (Figures 4.8 and 4.9).⁵⁸ The principal windows, almost all divorced from the inter-columnar positions they occupy at the Erechtheion, are placed high up so as to allow light down into the church. Below, Inwood introduced a row of small windows to light the pews beneath the galleries inside, inverting the visual logic of smaller attic windows set over larger ones. In the Palladian tradition, this problem is overcome by the additional solidity given to the basement by rustication, but at Grecian St Pancras rustication was not available. The small windows take on an ungainly trapezoidal form (of a sort about which Donaldson had expressed anxiety in his *Collection of the Most Approved Examples of Doorways*) and, in a complete solecism, their sills are actually integrated with the



Figure 4.8 William and Henry William Inwood: St Pancras, London, 1819–1822

Source: Photograph by author



Figure 4.9 Erechtheion, Athens, 421–06 BC, south elevation

Source: Photograph by author

Erechtheion's taller and slightly projecting lowest stone course.⁵⁹ Architectural design such as this represents the point at which Hellenomania actually merges into Egyptomania or, at least, where Greek Revivalism becomes an exercise in sublime mass, a powerful and Romantic abstraction significantly removed from the principles of Greek temple architecture that are supposedly simply being emulated.

What, in conclusion, we are reminded of here is the generic point that the practice of architecture is a different thing from the practice of archaeology. Architects are under no moral obligation to remain faithful to precedents from the past and, as creators of new buildings with contemporary clients to please, functions to fulfil, technologies to consider, and budgets to meet, they are not concerned with precise replication of the past even when, as in times of stylistic revivalism, they evidently consider it a suitable model. The early nineteenth-century architects of the Greek Revival in Britain may have been Hellenomaniacs, and their admiration may have grown still further as the idealised vision promoted by Stuart's and Revett's *Antiquities* was gradually peeled back to show ancient Greek architecture to have been, in fact, an architecture of extraordinarily delicate curves (not to mention bold colours) and departures from the 'doctrine' of Vitruvius. But they were not mere copyists, and the Romantic Philhellenism of contemporary Britain evidently did not blind them to the need to extract, modify, and transform ancient Greek precedents in the quest for a modern architecture.

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Notes

1 Korres (1994) 79.

2 Stuart and Revett (1762) vii.

- 3 Penrose (1851) ix. Penrose also recognised the major contributions of these British architects's European peers: Joseph Hoffer, Eduard Schaubert, Christian Hansen, and Alexis Paccard, which must also be acknowledged here.
- 4 Riou (1768), dedication.
- 5 For a recent study of Francis Vernon's record of Athenian monuments, however, made during a precocious visit to Athens in 1675–1676, see Walker (2013).
- 6 Doubts about the archaeological integrity of Stuart's work had already been suggested by the American scholar Jacob Landy who, in a brilliant article of 1956 largely overlooked for half a century, concluded that Stuart and Revett 'were not concerned with as complete a presentation of the facts as they pretended' (Landy 1956 258).
- 7 See, for example, Redford (2008).
- 8 In fact Le Roy was engaged in an entirely different discourse from Stuart, as has been shown in Middleton (2004) and Armstrong (2011).
- 9 See Salmon (2006; 2008); Kelly (2008); Yeomans (2011); and Yeomans et al. (2014).
- 10 Crook (1995) 67.
- 11 See Salmon (2006) 113–16.
- 12 See Salmon (2006) 124 and fig. 3–20. On *De Architectura* see Rowland and Howe (1999) 29–30, 117 and 163.
- 13 Stuart and Revett (1762) 16.
- 14 Cited in Crook (1995) 81.
- 15 Stuart and Revett (1762) ii.
- 16 Wiebenson (1969) 80.
- 17 Harris and Savage (1992) 442.
- 18 Stuart and Revett (1794) 11, with the textual reasoning given in 1787, p. 5 and note S. In this Stuart might have been following the lead of William Newton who, in his 1771 translation, had suggested that the octastyle temple mentioned by Vitruvius might have been elsewhere in Athens. See Newton (1771) 49.
- 19 Yeomans et al. (2014) 287–92.
- 20 See Salmon (2006) 132, fig. 3–29.
- 21 Kelly (2009) 167–9 and 187.
- 22 Kelly (2009) 185. On pp. 189–92 Kelly provides a brief analysis of Revett's measurements and assumptions made about them in Ionia and when subsequently preparing them for publication, many of which related to buildings in far more ruinous condition than those of *The Antiquities of Athens*. Kelly's forthcoming book on Revett will doubtless offer a much more sustained account.
- 23 See, for example, Watkin (2006) 38–9.
- 24 Winckelmann cited in Salmon (2008) 118. Winckelmann's apparently sole technical comment on the columns concerned the effect of stability given by their 'forma conica', and a conical taper is presumably what he also meant when he used the German term 'kegelmässig' to describe them elsewhere (see De Jong

- 2015 305, n. 106). I must thank Katherine Harloe for having drawn Winckelmann's visits to Paestum to my attention and for sharing her understanding with me on this point.
- 25 Riou cited in Salmon (2008) 118.
- 26 Penrose (1888) 39. Penrose cannot have been referring to stylobate curvature, however, which is so obvious to the eye at the Parthenon.
- 27 See Salmon (2008) 112–14.
- 28 Dilettanti (1817) 12, 54 and 58.
- 29 Inwood (1827) 103.
- 30 Aberdeen (1822) 16.
- 31 Quoted by Jackson (2000) 224.
- 32 Quoted by Jackson (2000) 226. Jackson provides an admirable summary of the polychromy debate in England.
- 33 Quoted in Jackson (2000) 227–8.
- 34 Yeomans et al. (2014) 283–6.
- 35 All the measurements given on these field notes are as they appear on the plan printed in Dilettanti (1840), Plate LXXII, except for this last—where the width of the walkway was changed from 5.10.6 to 5.3.6. Perhaps in consequence of this discrepancy, the whole dimension from the bottom of the first step of the second division to that of the third division was omitted.
- 36 Aberdeen (1822) 48–9.
- 37 Donaldson (1833) 23.
- 38 For a recent substantial account of the project see Gifford (2014) and, earlier, Gow (1989).
- 39 National Library of Scotland (NLS henceforth), Ms. 639, fol. 1.
- 40 Crook (1995) 133; Watkin (1974) 152–3.
- 41 NLS, Ms. 638, fol. 108v.
- 42 NLS, Ms. 638, fol. 106r.
- 43 NLS, Ms. 638, fol. 102r.
- 44 Edinburgh University Library, Playfair Drawings Collection 1491, is the architect's 'Drawing explaining the position and construction of the columns and the architrave'. At the foot of the column a little measurement of 10.8 [inches] is marked in pencil from its outer edge. The same measurement appears at the echinus (though in fact it represents a smaller distance on the drawing than that shown at the base, so that these cannot be regarded as precise measurements). Descending from the echinus is a faint pencil line (straight) that meets the column at the top of the fifth drum up, then disappears. It is possible that this detail (which does not appear on the two copies of this drawing at the Scottish Royal Commission) relates to an abandoned attempt to produce entasis on Playfair's part.
- 45 NLS, Ms. 638, fol. 107r; Inwood (1827) 103. See also, for example, the builder's manual Billington (1834) 185–6 and Plate XXIII, where it is stated that 'the

ancients have diminished and imperceptibly curved the outline of the shafts of their columns' but instruction is only given for achieving (conical) diminution.

46 NLS, Ms. 638, fol. 110r.

47 Jenkins cited in Salmon (2008) 119.

48 Aberdeen (1822) 157. In much the same way Joseph Gwilt, in his influential 1842 *Encyclopaedia of Architecture*, casually noted that entasis was 'probably introduced at a late period', attributing it 'to some refined perception of the Greeks' (Gwilt 1842, 63, unchanged in later editions). Gwilt had earlier, in his 1825 edition of Chambers's *Treatise* (the standard textbook of the time), said that the recent discovery of entasis in the Parthenon would 'serve to illustrate Vitruvius on this point, which was a refinement in art' that could be useful for dating Greek buildings, not a feature that was essential to beauty (Gwilt 1825, 43). J. B. Papworth, in his edition of Chambers, published just a year after Gwilt's, appraised the 'linear composition' of Greek architecture in perpendicular terms, noting of entasis (amongst other 'deep attention paid to parts' by Greek architects) that 'neglect of this might have been excusable' (Papworth 1826, xvii and xxii). Coventry Patmore appears to have been exceptional in arguing (in 1849–1850) that the omission of entasis in the stylobate and end columns of the British Museum had resulted in 'the omission of half the glory that ought to have sent its subtle beams from [that] still noble façade' (cited in Crook 2003, 142).

49 Beard (2010) 106.

50 Watkin (1974) 124.

51 NLS, Ms. 638, fol. 6.

52 NLS, Ms. 638, fol. 5r.

53 Quoted in Crook (1995) 129.

54 See O'Sullivan (1962) 139. I thank Richard Butler for drawing this example to my attention.

55 Cockerell's annotated plan of the Parthenon was published in Beschi (2010).

56 Summerson (2003) 261. It is noteworthy that in the first edition of this book (1945, 208), Summerson had written that the tower did its 'ineffective best', the word ineffective being removed from the second edition (1962) and all subsequent editions as Summerson's attitude to the Greek Revival softened.

57 Inwood (1827) 114. Two Roman examples at Palmyra were noted.

58 This is to say nothing of the differences between the two buildings in terms of the London church's half-columns and relationship between the caryatid porch and wall.

59 For contemporary anxiety about this form of opening see Donaldson (1833) 39, on the window-like door of the Tomb of Theron at Agrigento, 'so placed it seems repugnant to common sense, being situate too high to afford access—a window had been more appropriate. In fact the whole monument, replete as it

is with interest, affords an example of incongruity, which is not wanting in the brightest epochs even of pure taste’.

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Making everyone Greek: citizens, athletes, and ideals of nationhood in nineteenth-century Britain, France, and Germany

Athena Leoussi

The currents of European enthusiasm for ancient Greece that soared from the late eighteenth until well into the twentieth century were cultural movements that appealed not only to elites, but had much wider, popular appeal. These new ‘Hellenomanias’ set out to make *everyone* Greek. The desire to be Greek became a characteristic feature of those nations that, by the end of the nineteenth century, had established themselves as the leaders of modern Europe—Britain, France, and Germany. These nations became in their turn models for other nations striving for international prestige and recognition. In this way Greece became ‘the desire of all nations’,¹ and not only in Europe, but also in other parts of the world touched by Europe through trade, exploration, religious mission or empire. There were, however, different ways of becoming Greek. Consequently, modern Hellenomanias took different forms. I shall here concentrate on two that became implicated in the overarching process of nation-building that characterised this period. I shall call them ‘civic’ and ‘ethnic’ Hellenomanias.

The nineteenth century was a century of such intense national revival and nation-building that it has become known as ‘the age of nationalism’.² The modern idea of the ‘nation’ emerges in the late eighteenth century as part of the cult of the ‘people’ with which both the Enlightenment and what Isaiah Berlin called the Counter-Enlightenment, i.e. Romanticism, engaged. Both the Enlightenment and Romanticism elevated the common man to the status of agent and repository of history, and set out to make the people sovereign. This cult of the people found its most famous formulations in the French Revolutionaries’ ‘Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen’ of August 1789; in Johann Gottfried von Herder’s celebration of cultural diversity as the flowering of *Völkgeist*;³ and in Jules Michelet’s book, *Le Peuple*, of 1846. The nation meant the people. But who were the people who made up these self-determining nations?

In his now-classic book, *The Idea of Nationalism* (1944), Hans Kohn, who is considered the founding father of nationalism studies, distinguished between

two different visions of the nation, both of which emerged at the end of the eighteenth century, and were consolidated over the nineteenth century.⁴ According to Kohn, one vision was rooted in the Enlightenment, the other in the Herderian, Romantic reaction against it.⁵ The two visions of the nation were to mark the course of European and even world history from the French Revolution until the end of the Second World War and beyond.

Kohn held that these visions had clear geographical locations—hence his choice to describe them as the ‘western’ and the ‘non-western’. By this he did not, however, mean what we now understand as ‘Europe/USA’ versus ‘non-Europe’, but a distinction between north-western and east-central Europe, where the dividing line was, as if by Romantic, natural determinism, the river Rhine. West of the Rhine, in France, the Netherlands, and England, as well as the USA, lay the earlier, ‘western’ type of nation; east of the Rhine, and especially in Germany, was the home of the ‘non-western’ type.⁶ He described the first as ‘basically a rational and universal concept of political liberty and the rights of man, looking towards the city of the future’, and the second as ‘basically founded on history, on monuments and graveyards, even harking back to the mysteries of ancient times and of tribal solidarity. It stressed the past, the diversity and self-sufficiency of nations’.⁷

The western and non-western visions of the nation are now usually referred to as ‘civic’ or ‘territorial’ and ‘ethnic’ or ‘cultural’, respectively, abandoning Kohn’s geographical terminology, since ‘ethnic’ nationalism, such as the Irish, could emerge in western Europe.⁸ The essentialism that seems to underlie Kohn’s dichotomy has also been criticised, as civic nations can become ethnic and both types can combine in varying degrees in a single nation.⁹ What, for our purposes, is particularly interesting about the two visions is that *both* came to be connected with ancient Greece. Although Kohn only emphasised the civic vision’s connection to ‘Hellas’, and especially Athens, both visions found their primary models in ancient Greek culture. Each, however, attached itself to *different* principles in Greek culture: the civic to the concept of the citizen, and the ethnic to the concept of the athlete. I shall examine each of these two Hellenic re-orientations in modern European culture, in turn.

Civic Hellenomania

The civic conception of the nation included everyone—it was universalist, cosmopolitan, individualist, and rationalist. It sought to turn subjects into citizens. Its model was the democratic city-state of Athens, now idealistically transformed into a universal and all-inclusive community of free individuals who could think for themselves. The universalism of the modern civic nation was clearly expressed in Article 120 of the 1793 revolutionary constitution’s proclamation of France as a ‘land of asylum’ (*pays d’asile*), according to which ‘the French people offer protection to foreigners banished from their countries for defending

the cause of liberty and refuse it to tyrants'.¹⁰ In the USA, the classicising statue of 'Liberty Enlightening the World', inaugurated in 1886, was designed to symbolise the universal, humanistic aspirations that the two new Republics of the modern world, the American and the French shared. The statue was conceived by Édouard de Laboulaye (1811–1883), the French political thinker, U.S. Constitution expert and abolitionist, and designed by Laboulaye's friend, Frédéric Auguste Bartholdi.¹¹ Laboulaye had intended the statue as a gift of the French to the American people and a Republican celebration, on both sides of the Atlantic, of the spread of the Enlightenment principles of democracy and freedom from slavery and oppression across the world. By 1903, however, the statue had acquired an additional meaning, which is perhaps best expressed in the American poet Emma Lazarus's proclamation of the USA as 'Mother of Exiles' in her 1883 poem, 'The New Colossus'. The poem, together with the experience of international mass immigration into the USA at the turn of the twentieth century, changed the meaning of the statue from liberty enlightening the world to American liberty welcoming the world to its shores.¹²

The civic conception of the modern nation produced parliamentary democracies whose classical roots were most visibly acknowledged in the classical style of the buildings which housed the representatives of the people, as also discussed by Lambrinou in this volume. According to the civic view, it was, in the first instance, *all* the people of the state, who, transformed into citizens, constituted the nation. In Europe, the attempt to turn *ancien régime* states into magnified and modernised versions of democratic Athens began in Paris. The central site of its metamorphosis was the Palais Bourbon, which, after its confiscation by the revolutionary government in 1791, was transformed from an aristocratic private palace into the home of the French National Assembly (Figure 5.1). Over the following decades a succession of distinguished architects, sculptors, and painters moulded the Palais into a symbol of French democracy. A host of architectural, sculptural, and other decorative features proclaims its Athenian roots. These include a neoclassical façade consisting of a pedimented portico supported by twelve columns, and statues of Athena and Themis (representing, respectively, prudence and the legislative process), standing on either side at the bottom of the steps that lead up to the portico.¹³ Designed by the architect Bernard Poyet, the façade was completed in 1810. Another Athenian reference can be seen inside the building, in the seventeenth-century Gobelins tapestry which hangs in the *salle des séances* (also known as *l'hémicycle*, because of its shape), the French Parliament's debating hall. The tapestry reproduces Raphael's famous 'School of Athens' from the Vatican and shows Plato and Aristotle debating, thereby 'evoking the Greek origins of democracy'.¹⁴ The tapestry was hung directly above the desk of the President of the Assemblée Nationale who guides the discussions. It thus confronts the French deputies, reminding them of the principles of democratic debate.

Largely under the influence of Thomas Jefferson, himself an admirer of Greek democratic and Roman Republican principles, classicising parliamentary



Figure 5.1 Palais Bourbon, Paris

Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Palais_Bourbon_-_panoramio.jpg

buildings were also built across the United States of America, with the greatest example being the Capitol in Washington, DC, for which construction began in 1793 (see also Lambrinou's chapter in this volume).¹⁵ Many other parliamentary buildings in Europe were also built in the Greek style in the course of the nineteenth century, as traditional monarchies were challenged by democratic movements largely inspired by the French Revolution.¹⁶

Another more complicated example of the links between parliament buildings and the tortuous road to the democratic ideal is the Austrian Reichsrat, in Vienna, built in 1874–1883 (Figure 5.2). Designed by the great Danish-born Austrian architect, Baron Theophil von Hansen, its construction was part of a series of compromises between a crumbling Austro-Hungarian Empire and liberal-national forces. Hansen had spent many years in Athens studying ancient Greek architecture and had also taken part in excavation and reconstruction work on the Acropolis.¹⁷ After leaving Athens for Vienna in 1846, invited by the Greek-Austrian entrepreneur and banker Georg Simon von Sina to introduce elements of Greek style in various building projects, Hansen became 'probably the most significant architect of Vienna's Ringstraße era', which saw the construction of the monumental ring road decreed by Emperor Francis Joseph I in 1857.¹⁸ The Austrian Parliament was one of those



Figure 5.2 Athena statue and Austrian Parliament

Source: © 2013 Guillaume Speurt CC BY-SA 2.0 / [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Atine_statue_and_Austrian_Parliament_\(8441082485\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Atine_statue_and_Austrian_Parliament_(8441082485).jpg)

grand buildings lining the Ringstraße. Full popular participation in the legislative process through elected representatives of the people had to wait until the First Austrian Republic of 1919–1938. Nevertheless, the purpose-built Austrian Parliament was a step towards the eventual triumph of democracy in Austria after the Second World War.

The building

reflects the views of . . . Hansen, who saw the parliaments of his day and age as ‘new monuments’ which should capture the attention of the peoples much in the same way as the temples of Antiquity and the cathedrals of the Middle Ages had done in the past.¹⁹

Although well-versed in a variety of historical styles, Hansen chose the Greek for the Austrian Parliament to establish a link between his building and the origins of democracy.²⁰ With its neoclassical pedimented portico, statues of Greek gods and historians, and its citations from the Erechtheion, Austria’s parliament has clear Athenian credentials. These are reiterated in the monumental fountain that stands in front of the building and has become the parliament’s key landmark. The fountain is dominated by the statue of Pallas Athena, patron of Athens, and ‘the Greek goddess of wisdom, strategy, war

and peace'.²¹ The original idea had been to have a statue of Austria, but Athena was chosen instead as a more universal symbol, given the multi-national character of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.²²

There were also some notable exceptions to the classicising idiom of modern western democracies' parliamentary buildings. These show the tension between civic and ethnic definitions of the national self, between universalising principles and particularistic traditions, and between revolution and reform.

The Palace of Westminster in London (1835–1860), designed by Charles Barry and Augustus Pugin, was built in the Gothic Revival style developed in England to avoid the revolutionary and republican associations of the classical revival in the USA.²³ Yet even the English Parliament has classical features, for example in its proportions and symmetry. As the Gothicism Pugin famously remarked: 'All Grecian, sir; Tudor details on a classic body.'²⁴

Gothic was also chosen for the Hungarian Parliament (1885–1902), to associate Hungarian with British liberal institutions as well as in contrast to the Austrian Parliament, to affirm Hungary's historical identity and claim to self-rule (Figure 5.3). Count Gyulas Andrássy, who became the first prime minister of Hungary in 1867, was a great admirer of British liberalism and supported Imre Steindhal's Gothic Revival design, which was inspired by the British example.²⁵ As Endre Danyi has noted, while 'the classical Austrian parliament building was meant to be the manifestation of universal values and ideas, its



Figure 5.3 Parliament building, Budapest

Source: © 2005 Dirk Beyer CC BY-SA 3.0 / https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Budapest_Parliament_4604.JPG

Hungarian counterpart was supposed to emphasise the uniqueness of the Hungarian people and their thousand-year-old state. This is the reason why the late 19th [sic] century building is full of historical references to medieval princes, kings, and queens',²⁶ such as Arpad and St Stephen. Both the British and Hungarian parliaments, therefore, distanced themselves from Greek models of democracy. The Hungarian building, in particular, illustrates the use of Gothic and ethnic-historical motifs to express the vision of a separatist and ethnic Hungarian democracy. But Greek models too could be employed in an ethnic way by modern European nations, as discussed in the following section.

From civic to ethnic Hellenomania

As argued above, the late eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries were dominated by what we might call, a political, civic Hellenomania. It was a movement for universal liberty, equality, and fraternity, whose most significant expression was the building of parliaments—houses of the representatives of the will of the people—inspired by ancient Greece. The second half of the nineteenth century also saw a quite distinct but similarly widespread attachment to another side of ancient Greece, which we might call, ethnic Hellenomania. Ethnic Hellenomania did not entirely replace but threatened and sometimes even subdued the core impulses of its civic counterpart.

Civic Hellenomania had promised universal human emancipation, solidarity, and inclusion regardless of gender, religion, ethnicity, or social background. The ethnic view saw nations as old, historical communities, based on 'blood' (in the sense of ethnic, i.e. genealogical continuity) and the transmission of cultural traditions from one generation to the next. Consequently, ethnic Hellenomania produced exclusivist and particularist tendencies which made access to the Greek world depend on proof of Greek ancestry. It adopted as its focal theme the Greek body and the Greek cult of the body—the Greek concern for physical health, strength, and beauty. The primary site of its cult was no longer the city, but the open air and the individual bodies of the members of the nation. Ethnic Hellenomania sought to reproduce in the bodies of modern young men and women the beauty of ancient Greek youth. The new body-centred Hellenomania was therefore an emphatically aesthetic movement. Furthermore, it gave physical identity a central place in the definition of nations. By the middle of the nineteenth century, it would dominate the lives of many European nations.

Among the factors which turned European attention to the Greek body were Winckelmann's taste for ancient Greek art; the development of the new science of physical anthropology; and the importation into western Europe of original specimens of fifth-century BC Greek art, the most prominent example of which was the British Museum's acquisition of sculptural fragments from the Parthenon.²⁷ In his *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der Griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst* (1755), Winckelmann had advocated the

imitation of the Greeks—not only their art, but also their political freedom and aesthetic education, both of which had shaped Greek art itself. By reaffirming the perfect beauty of Greek art, Winckelmann also posited the supreme physical beauty of the Greeks themselves. The beautiful bodies of young Greek men, moulded through physical training in the gymnasia, provided the raw material for that ideal beauty expressed in Winckelmann's principle of 'edle Einfalt und stille Größe' and epitomised in works such as the Laocoön and the Apollo Belvedere.²⁸

The rise of physical anthropology as a new science of man also focused attention on the Greek body. Its 'father' was Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752–1840), the German anthropologist, physiologist, and comparative anatomist of the University of Göttingen. Physical anthropologists divided mankind into 'races', a category intended to enable organisation of the wide diversity of human physical traits into a stable and finite system of more or less permanent physical types, whose characteristics were transmitted from one generation to the next through biological inheritance. Their attempts produced a large number of typologies or classifications, depending on the physical traits each scientist focused upon, but many of which involved hierarchies of 'superior' and 'inferior' races ranked according to subjective judgements.²⁹ Through the idea of race, physical anthropology tried to make ethnicity (in the sense of genealogical continuity) visible, by tracing physical similarities among peoples in time and space. It also sought to explain cultural diversity through racial determinism, claiming the co-variation of physical with cultural, including linguistic, traits.³⁰

The notion of Aryan superiority and Semitic inferiority was one of the most influential theories of racial determinism. It complemented the polarisation of inferior Black and superior White races and had a direct impact on the European continent. It produced, on the one hand, movements of national physical regeneration, and, on the other, new and pseudo-scientific forms of prejudice against the Jewish and other communities. The Aryan race theory was a misapplication of a purely and specifically philological distinction bitterly defended by the Oxford-based German philologist, Friedrich Max Müller, and further developed in lectures on language to English audiences in 1859–1861.³¹ Racial determinists incorporated this purely linguistic distinction between two major linguistic families—the Indo-European or 'Aryan' and the Semitic³²—into their racial classifications, producing one of the most destructive myths of the twentieth century. The most influential representative of the dogma of Aryanism was Count Arthur de Gobineau (1816–1882), who praised the Germanic nations of northern Europe as Aryans and dedicated his hugely influential *Essai sur l'Inégalité des Races Humaines* (1853–1855) to a German sovereign (George V of Hanover). His ideas would form the basis of Nazi racial ideology, although, it must be noted, he was not anti-Semitic.³³

Despite divergences in scientific opinion over the very idea of race, what united all scientists interested in human anatomy and physical health was

their common appreciation of the Greek body. Influenced by Winckelmann's neoclassical aesthetics, European scientists saw the ancient Greek body as represented in surviving Greek art as the fullest realisation of human physical perfection—even if later writers departed from Winckelmann's love for the Apollo Belvedere, preferring what they considered to be more realistic sculptures.³⁴ On the basis of this sculptural evidence (however badly copied or idealised we now know it to have been) and literary sources, such as physical descriptions of Homeric heroes, physical anthropologists saw the Greek body as the fullest embodiment of the white, Indo-European, Indo-Atlantic, Aryan or Caucasian race, also called *homo europaeus*. This was believed to be the superior human race, excelling in beauty, intelligence, language, morality, and strength. Physical anthropologists tended to describe the Greeks as blond and the Greek head as a perfect oval, with regular and symmetrical features, and noses that were perpendicular, continuing their foreheads. They also saw in ancient Greek sculpture, and especially in fifth-century BC Athenian sculpture, a specifically Greek conception of beauty: the beauty of the well-balanced athletic body. As a result, physical anthropologists and medical scientists explained the beauty of the ancient Greeks as the result of two factors: race and athletics. Greek athletic institutions, most notably the gymnasia, cultivated the natural beauty of the Greeks in ways that made their bodies healthy, robust, muscular, symmetrical, and well-proportioned.

These anthropological ideas, which saw in the Greek body the physical type of the European race, turned all Europeans into potential Greeks. At the same time, there was a broad consensus, even among critics of ideas of European racial superiority and racial determinism, as well as critics of the very idea of race (e.g. Friedrich Max Müller, Matthew Arnold, Jules Michelet, Georges Clémenceau, and others), that care for the body as practised in the ancient Greek gymnasia was necessary for the physical regeneration of modern nations. It was widely held that modern human bodies were being destroyed by the sedentary and indoor life of industrial civilisation whose centres were the unsanitary north European cities.³⁵ As George Mosse has observed, the Greek physical ideal was implicated in all European nationalist movements, 'whether German, Czech or Jewish'.³⁶ The leading Zionist Max Nordau, for example, promoted 'muscular Judaism'.³⁷ And in the context of international competition for power, wealth, and prestige, there arose in Europe a new competition as to which nation looked more Greek. I shall here concentrate on Germany, Britain, and France.

It was in Germany that the Greek physical ideal found its first modern practical application as a national and liberal ideal in the *Turnverein*, the German gymnastics movement. Founded by Friedrich Ludwig Jahn (1778–1862) as a patriotic organisation in 1809, the *Turnverein* involved rigorous physical training which was both Greek and innovative. The Greek influence on Jahn's exercises came from their debt to Johann Christoph Friedrich GutsMuths (1759–1839), who had led the slow rise of gymnastics as a form of physical

education and method of individual self-perfection in late eighteenth-century Germany, and had 'created gymnastics largely from ancient exercise'.³⁸ The core of his curriculum consisted of the Greek pentathlon (discus, javelin, jump, running, wrestling), but GutsMuths also innovated by combining the pentathlon with several new exercises he himself invented.³⁹ It should be noted that GutsMuths believed that the exact replication of the Greek physical type was unattainable. Consequently, he urged his phlegmatic and over-refined contemporaries to emulate the energy and robustness of both the ancient Greeks and the ancient Germanic tribes.

While retaining GutsMuths' repertoire, Jahn substituted the German tribal ancestor for GutsMuths's Greek man as the supreme example of modern health and physical vigour. Jahn was also innovative, adding to GutsMuths's gymnastics the horizontal bar and parallel bars. Jahn's gymnastics movement developed in the context of German defeats by France in the Napoleonic Wars and in the spirit of Fichte's anti-French patriotism.⁴⁰ Its aim was to build a strong, 'soldierly' national body that could fight against French occupation of German lands.⁴¹

Becoming part of regular school curricula after 1815, the gymnastics of GutsMuths and Jahn were seen, especially in the prelude to German unification in 1871, as a way of becoming German: 'Gymnastics our way, Germanness our aim'.⁴² German liberalism, and with it, civic conceptions of the German nation, receded after 1815 (with only a brief interlude in 1848–1849), and especially in the course and aftermath of German unification, which was accompanied by more authoritarian and culturally exclusive (e.g. anti-Catholic) concepts of the German nation. Some of these concepts developed an exclusive ethnic and racial Hellenomania which became associated with anti-Semitism. Nazi Hellenomania would be a continuation as well as transformation of what Eliza M. Butler described, in 1935, as the spiritual tyranny of Greece over Germany, which went back to Winckelmann.⁴³ Nothing epitomises this better than Hitler's pursuit of a marble replica of the *Disco-bolus*, finally purchased in May 1938 for 5 million lire from the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Figure 5.4). The statue was displayed in June of that year in the Glyptothek in Munich, and featured prominently in the opening sequence of Leni Riefenstahl's documentary on the 1936 Berlin Olympics (*Olympia*, 1938).

In Britain, ethnic Hellenomania became centred on the English. It was the Scottish anatomist Robert Knox, 'the real founder of British racism', who, through his lectures and books produced one of the most influential genealogies which connected the English with the ancient Greeks.⁴⁴ In 1850, Knox published his major work, *The Races of Men: A Fragment*, followed by a second edition in 1862. It was illustrated with drawings of the Elgin Marbles, the Cnidian Venus, and other specimens of ancient Greek art. On the basis of this sculptural material, Knox described Greek men as 'large limbed' and 'athletal', while 'fair and flowing locks, full bosomed, fleshy, and large limbed, seem to



Figure 5.4 'The Discobolus Lancellotti', Roman copy of a fifth-century BC Greek original by Myron, Hadrianic period, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, Rome

Source: ©2013 Carole Raddato CCBY-SA 2.0 www.flickr.com/photos/carolemage/11398129933/

have been the characters of Grecian women; look at the Niobe, the Venus of Gnidos [sic] and a hundred others'.⁴⁵ Knox traced the genealogy of the 'classic' Greeks to a north European race which he called the 'Scandinavian' or 'Saxon', which arrived 'early in Greece, say 3500 years ago'⁴⁶ and interbred with the 'aboriginal Pelasgic hordes' who inhabited Greece and Macedonia.⁴⁷ From the intermarriage of all these people, with further admixtures of Celtic and perhaps even 'Slavonian blood', 'arose a new race of men (. . .) a mixed race', which produced Greek civilisation, but which was 'destined to cease at a given period' because 'a mixed race [is] an anomaly on earth'.⁴⁸ Knox claimed that ancient Greece owed the beauty of her people to the Scandinavian or Saxon element. This 'classic' type which, according to Knox, could no longer be found in Greece, could now be found in England: 'the streets of London abound with persons having this identical facial angle [the Greek profile]; and it is in England and in other countries inhabited by the Saxon or Scandinavian race that women resembling the Niobe, and men the Hercules and Mars, are chiefly to be found.'⁴⁹ The same belief in the physical-genealogical identity of the English and the Greeks was held and propagated by British followers of the theory of the Aryan race. These included the president of the Royal Academy, Frederick Leighton, and the politician and novelist Benjamin Disraeli. Indeed, Disraeli accepted the Aryans as the 'chosen race', in which he included both the English and the Jews.⁵⁰

Having a Greek body did not just depend on genealogical/racial inheritance. It was also the result of Greek education, and especially of Greek physical education. And it was this combination of *aretê mousike* with *aretê gymnastikê* that Thomas Arnold introduced to English public school education during the 1840s, as headmaster of Rugby school. The Greek athletic ideal spread quickly from the public schools to the universities, becoming a characteristic feature of English middle- and upper-class society.⁵¹ English enthusiasm for Greek athletics involved rowing, swimming, and boxing, and the invention of new ball games, such as rugby, devised at Rugby school during Thomas Arnold's headship.⁵² It also involved the assimilation of the traditional English game of cricket into the Greek canon. For example, Walter Pater, in his 1894 essay 'The Age of Athletic Prizemen', readily recognised in the English cricketer the Greek Discobolus.⁵³ Pater and others also recognised Greek Discoboli among working-class young men, among 'half-stripped navvies, and [in] the titanic forms of men employed in gas and other plutonic works'.⁵⁴ The English had become Greek.

For others, however, Hellenism alone was inadequate for a rounded personality. Matthew Arnold (1822–1888) argued that 'Hellenism' had to be combined with 'Hebraism'—crucial notions borrowed from the renegade German-Jewish poet and writer Heinrich Heine (1797–1856). 'Hebraism' meant both Judaic morality and its extension and continuation in Christian, and especially Protestant, morality.⁵⁵ In his *Culture and Anarchy* (1869), Arnold,

following Heine, emphasised the complementarity of 'Hellenism' and 'Hebraism' as natural human dispositions, expressing a new humanism—'the essential unity of man'. Most probably with Darwin in mind, Arnold declared that science had 'made visible to everybody the great and pregnant elements of difference which lie in race, and in how signal a manner they make the genius and history of an Indo-European people vary from those of a Semitic people'.⁵⁶ Racial differences were, however, less important than those affinities that united different races into common humanity: 'nothing more strongly marks the essential unity of man than the affinities we can perceive, in this point or that, between members of one family of peoples and members of another'.⁵⁷ Both Heine and Matthew Arnold tried to bring to an end the traditional Christian rejection and mortification of the flesh. The Greek-inspired celebration of the human body and its incorporation in a more balanced view of man as mind, soul, and body represented a radical cultural change, which also influenced national attitudes to the body across Europe. But the reconciliation of Hebraism and Hellenism was not presented as a way of becoming national—it was a way of becoming human.⁵⁸ It was a reaffirmation of civic and universalising Hellenomania.

French interest in physical culture, 'la culture musculaire', emerges later in the nineteenth century. It was partly the result of deep national trauma—the loss of the French German-speaking provinces of Alsace and Lorraine following French defeat in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870–1871. This humiliating national defeat prompted the emergence of new and specifically ethno-racial conceptions of the French nation, aimed at French revenge and recovery of the lost provinces. French hostility was to haunt Germany and contribute to the outbreak of the First World War, after which the provinces were finally returned to France in 1918.⁵⁹

Ethno-racial conceptions of the French nation competed and coexisted with the civic conceptions of the Third Republic, which replaced Louis Napoleon III's defeated Second Empire. At the centre of these new visions, which combined with a strong militarism, was the Greek physical ideal. Claims to Greek ancestry and thereby to Greek physical-racial powers or, rather, potential powers gave the French a sense of superiority over the Germans.⁶⁰ They led the French to believe that they could become militarily superior to the Germans and thus defeat them *en revanche*. This they could do by developing their Greek body to its full potential through physical education.⁶¹ French claims to Greek ancestry were justified by reference to archaeological and textual evidence for Greek settlements in Provence from the sixth century BC, which suggested intermarriage between the local Gauls and the Greek colonists. This Mediterranean identity rejected the Frankish, 'Germanic' north with its centre in Paris and celebrated the Gallo-Graeco-Roman Mediterranean South of France, and especially Provence, as the source of French identity and the centre of modern French national regeneration.⁶² A Provençal Renaissance ensued as both

a literary and a national revival movement. The poet Joachim Gasquet (1873–1921) celebrated his native land's new status in his 1899 poem, 'Chant filial':

Les hommes de ma race à leur sang sont liés.
 Dans la Provence d'or flotte l'air de l'Hellade . . .
 [The men of my race are linked to their blood.
 In golden Provence floats the air of Hellas. . . .]⁶³

By developing their bodies as their Greek ancestors had done, the French would regenerate the degenerate and feeble bodies of those defeated at Sedan on 1 September 1870, Victor Hugo's *année terrible*.

A new cult of the athletic body and life in (or regular trips to) the Mediterranean South of France, with its warm sun and fresh air, thus emerged in the aftermath of this national humiliation. The ideas of Hippolyte Taine (an Aristocrat and arch-champion of classical Athenian notions of physical strength) became immensely influential; even some Catholic opinion championed a new, 'muscular Catholicism', or, as the French painter Paul Signac described it, a 'catholicisme sportif'.⁶⁴ For the Catholic, anti-Darwinian anthropologist Charles Rochet, 'Every human being must have a beautiful body, as well as good health; the Creator does not recognise as being His Creation other than beautiful and healthy beings' (my translation).⁶⁵ And he urged the French to imitate 'la vie naturelle' of 'la belle race des Hellènes'.⁶⁶ Active life in the Southern sun and open air would also enable the French to achieve the skin colour of perfect humanity – 'rouge' or 'cuivré' [red or bronze] – bronzed by the sun.⁶⁷

French cult of the Greek athletic body was also expressed in the proliferation of journals such as *La Revue Athlétique*, founded in 1890, or *La Culture Physique*, founded in 1904, with their illustrations of statues of ancient Greek athletes.⁶⁸ Voluntary gymnastic associations also proliferated as another manifestation of the new physical concerns satirised in Flaubert's *Bouvard et Pécuchet* (1881). The names of these associations bear witness to the patriotic and specifically *revanchiste* motives that lay behind their formation: *La Régénératrice*, *L'Alsace-Lorraine*, *La Revanche*.⁶⁹ Gymnastics also acquired an official and, indeed, obligatory status on a national scale: Article 1 of the 1882 law of Jules Ferry, which made primary education obligatory as well as 'laïque' for both boys and girls, also made 'La gymnastique' obligatory in primary education. Furthermore, it made military exercises compulsory for boys.⁷⁰ This form of military gymnastics was pursued in French primary schools until 1890.⁷¹

Thus after 1871 there was 'broad agreement' in France that 'the country must work to outstrip the Germans in the very areas in which Germany excelled: warfare, science, and the education of its citizens', including gymnastics.⁷² But French ethnic Hellenomania of the post-1871 period of *revanchisme* and sense of national insecurity had a darker side. This was expressed, first, in the anti-Semitism that manifested itself in the Dreyfus Affair from 1894

onwards and divided the nation in complex ways;⁷³ and second, in the rise of monarchist and reactionary movements opposed to the Republican ideals of the French Revolution, such as the irredentist and proto-fascist review, *L'Action Française*, founded by Charles Maurras.⁷⁴

Yet French enthusiasm for Greek athletic institutions led to the revival of the Olympic Games where, once again, tensions between civic and ethnic Hellenomania come to the fore. Pierre de Coubertin (1863–1937), the driving force in the Olympic revival, was also an admirer of the Greek athletic aims of English middle- and upper-class education. Inspired by Thomas Arnold, Coubertin achieved his Olympic goal in 1896, but transformed what had been a local-national, Panhellenic contest into a global, universal one. In this way, he established the Greek athletic ideal as an international ideal (the aforementioned ‘desire of all nations’) rather than confined to specific national or racial groups, despite his initial acceptance of some racist ideas. At the same time his Hellenomania had an ethno-national dimension, since it promoted athletic games and physical exercise for the joy and freedom that they would give to French youths.⁷⁵

This intertwining of ethnic and civic conceptions of the healthy Greek body has a final and often overlooked impact among the French avant-garde.⁷⁶ It is most evident in the work of the Impressionists and Post-Impressionists.⁷⁷ The Impressionists, continuing the revolution that had begun with Édouard Manet, set out to be *peintre[s] de la vie moderne*—to show ever-changing modern life in ever-changing modern styles—and to break free from tradition, ‘sans référence au passé’.⁷⁸ After 1880, however, many painters of ‘la vie moderne’ revived ‘la vie ancienne’ in various ways. These artists removed the fashionably dressed or undressed French men and women of the Third Republic from the city and placed them nude, in the sunny Mediterranean landscapes, riversides, and coastlines of Provence, bathing, wrestling, running, or resting after physical activity.⁷⁹ Paul Cézanne (1839–1906) and Pierre-Auguste Renoir (1841–1919), in particular, took an active part in the development and propagation of this new athletic and Southern vision of the French nation through the series of bathers (male and female in Cézanne, and almost exclusively female in Renoir) that characterise their oeuvre from the 1880s until the end of their lives.⁸⁰ The Greekness of these Provençal bathers is indicated by their poses and figural types. These usually derive from statues, such as the pride of the Louvre, the robust Venus de Milo, and fifth- and fourth-century BC statues of athletes and heroes, as well as the Belvedere Torso, often mediated through the nudes of the Italian Renaissance.⁸¹

Cézanne’s luminous and serene bathing nudes of the last twenty years of his life, set in the Mediterranean countryside around his hometown of Aix-en-Provence, were a new subject in his art. The Hellenism of this later work expressed Cézanne’s regionalism—his *enracinement* in Provence (he called himself ‘man of the South’).⁸² He was intimately connected with members of the Provençal regionalist movement, such as the aforementioned poet Joachim

Gasquet, and shared with Gasquet and his circle belief in the Hellenic roots of modern Provence and its destiny as the site of French physical and cultural regeneration.⁸³ In his book on Cézanne Gasquet associates the artist with Hippolyte Taine's 'culture musculaire', quoting him as saying: 'I like muscle, beautiful tones, blood. I'm like Taine.'⁸⁴ Such pronouncements may help us to understand Cézanne's series of male bathers with swelling muscles, such as *Le Grand Baigneur* of 1885 in the Museum of Modern Art, New York, or the *Baigneurs* of c.1890–1891 in the Hermitage and those of 1980 in the Musée d'Orsay (Figure 5.5). The massive square chest of the male bather facing the spectator in *Les Baigneurs au repos* of 1875–1876, in the Barnes Foundation, repeated in *Le Grand Baigneur* of 1885 in the Museum of Modern Art, New York, also conforms to Taine's campaign for strong, square chests for French men, and reproduces what Winckelmann had described as the 'grand and square' style of fifth-century BC Greek art.⁸⁵ In his review of the Second Impressionist Exhibition of 1877, the art critic Georges Rivière defended *Les Baigneurs au repos* of 1875–1876 by terming Cézanne 'un grec de la belle époque' and arguing that:

ses toiles ont le calme, la sérénité héroïque des peintures et des terres cuites antiques, et les ignorants qui rient devant les *Baigneurs*, par exemple, me font l'effet de barbares critiquant le Parthénon.

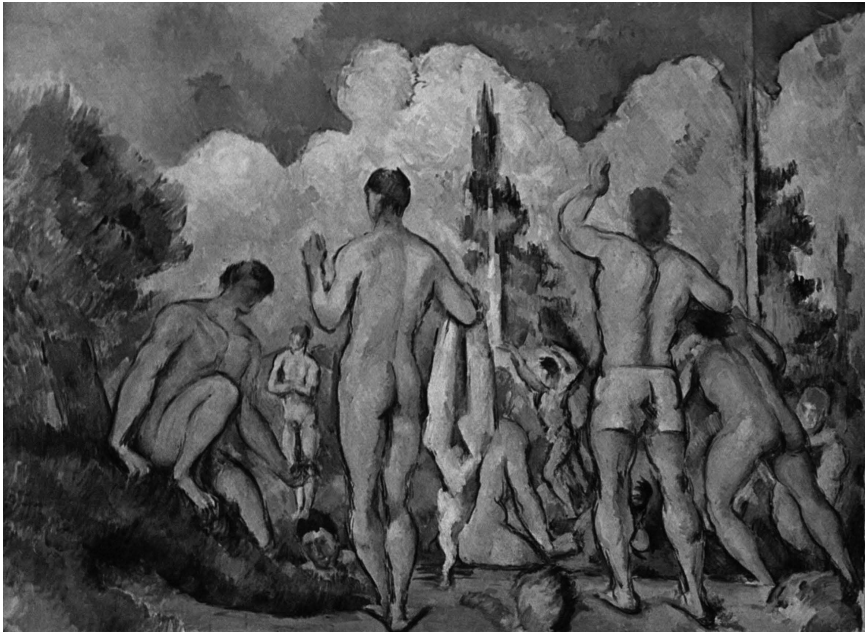


Figure 5.5 Paul Cézanne, *Bathers*, c.1890, oil on canvas, Musée d'Orsay, Paris

Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Paul_C%C3%A9zanne_008.jpg

[his canvases have the calm and heroic serenity of the paintings and terra-cottas of antiquity, and the ignorant who laugh at the *Bathers*, for example, impress me like barbarians criticizing the Parthenon].⁸⁶

Cézanne's series of bathers culminated in *Les Grandes Baigneuses* of c.1895–1905. In this final statement, the Provençal landscape is filled with young French women whose Greekness is unmistakeable in their physique and poses, which reproduce famous Greek statues such as the *Venus de Milo*, the *Crouching Venus*, *L' Hermaphrodite endormi*, and others.⁸⁷

The classical turn in Renoir's art can be clearly dated to 1881–1882, during his trip to Italy and his exposure to the art of the Italian Renaissance and of Pompeii.⁸⁸ During this trip, Renoir's new female ideal emerged and came to bear all the features of the new French national ideal. He started producing, beginning with *Baigneuse Blonde I* of 1881, a series of naked young girls who are innocent, healthy, strong, and, in the amplitude of their forms, especially their hips, fertile.⁸⁹ These images were personal attempts to bring about a new French Renaissance, which, like its Italian counterpart, would combine Catholicism with Greek religion—which Renoir defined as 'a religion of joy, beauty and love'.⁹⁰ Renoir's young girls gradually become more and more distant from the pale Parisian coquettes of paintings such as *La Balançoire* (1876), and more and more monumental and Southern, their bodies becoming increasingly pink, red, or copper-red. These warm colours are suggestive of exposure to the Mediterranean sun, and echo Rochet's description of the French as a Southern race, 'rouge' or 'cuivre' that I discussed earlier. Indeed, Renoir's girls live as he (mistakenly) thought the young girls of ancient Athens had done, bathing freely in the sea and rivers: 'Just as in Athens, the women are not at all afraid of the proximity of men on the nearby rocks,'⁹¹ even if there are no men near Renoir's women. Renoir would sometimes call his later nudes 'nymphs', which further indicates their Hellenic links.⁹²

The change in Renoir's art from the 1880s onwards was not only thematic, a turn away from images of modern urban life towards more classical themes, but also stylistic. The stylistic change was classical in both its artistic prototypes and in its search for what Renoir described as the 'grandeur and simplicity of the ancients', echoing Winckelmann's 'noble simplicity and calm grandeur'.⁹³ The difference with Winckelmann's ideal was that Renoir's grandeur was massive (Figure 5.6). It is also worth noting that, unlike Delacroix, Cézanne, Maillol, and other French artists, Renoir disliked the *Venus de Milo*, seeing her as a 'big gendarme'.⁹⁴

Unlike Cézanne, whose love of Provence and support of Provençal regionalism had deep personal roots, Renoir's attachment to the South was associated with the idea of reviving Provençal classical culture as a national culture. This idea, which was part of the 'collective cultural consciousness of late nineteenth-century France', sought to claim that France herself was a living survival of classical antiquity.⁹⁵ Renoir's move to Cagnes has been seen

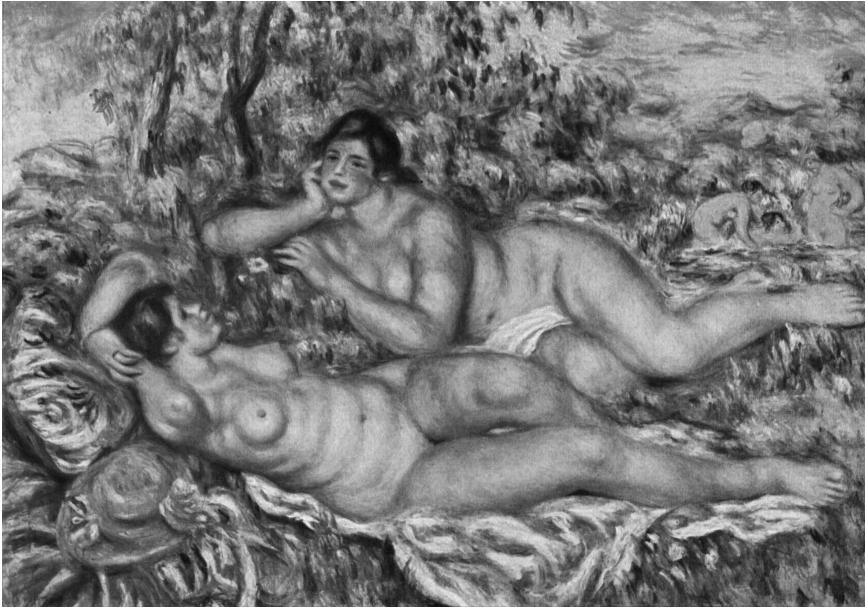


Figure 5.6 Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *The Bathers*, c.1918–1919, oil on canvas, H. 110; W. 160 cm, Musée d'Orsay, Paris

Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pierre-Auguste_Renoir_125.jpg

as evidence of his participation in 'new attention to the Mediterranean as the resort of France's Greco-Roman origins'.⁹⁶ It was this 'potent myth', as House has described it, that also pulled south Matisse, Signac, Seurat, and many other non-native artists of the *avant-garde*, alongside masses of French men and women seeking regeneration.⁹⁷ It was again to Joachim Gasquet that Renoir famously commented:

What admirable beings the Greeks were. Their existence was so happy that they imagined that the Gods came down to earth to find their paradise and to make love. Yes, the earth was the paradise of the Gods . . . This is what I want to paint.⁹⁸

Consistently with his ideas, Renoir painted not only the Mediterranean paradise in his landscapes, but also the Greek gods and heroes who, like the men and women of Provence, were tanned by the sun, strong and healthy.

The current of Hellenomania to which Cézanne and Renoir contributed so creatively was so powerful that if a foreign artist, such as Picasso, wished to become French, this artist had to draw innovatively from the Hellenic tradition. Christopher Green has described Picasso's art as 'sometimes serious,

more often ironic applications to belong as a French classicist'.⁹⁹ Picasso's *Three Women at the Spring* of 1921 exemplifies his enlisting in this strand of French Hellenomania. It was inspired by Jean Goujon and the three figures from the east pediment of the Parthenon which, he had known 'for many years from casts, illustrations, and his 1919 visit to the British Museum in London'.¹⁰⁰

Conclusion

Following the American and French Revolutions, Europe embarked on a long and complex process of nation-building. This involved redefinition of collective identities, appealed to the masses, and transformed radically the way of life of ordinary people. During the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries two specifically ancient Greek cultural traits, and their material manifestations, helped to define modern European national identities in decisive ways: the citizen and the athlete. Indeed, the transformation of modern mass societies into 'nations' was achieved, at least partly, through programmes of mass Hellenisation.

While producing distinctive cultural currents across Europe, which I have called civic and ethnic Hellenomanias, the ideals of the citizen and the athlete could also be combined in a variety of ways, producing multiple, overlapping universalist and particularist permutations: for example, the citizen and the athlete could coexist in the ideal of what we might call the 'citizen-athlete' that we find, briefly, during German unification as well as in Britain and Republican France from the second half of the nineteenth century; muscular Hellenomania could be detached from particularistic, ethnic associations, and become universalised, giving rise even to muscular Judaism; muscular Hellenomania could become intertwined with national religious traditions, producing Protestant and Catholic varieties of Muscular Christianity; finally, the two Hellenic cultural traits underpinning civic and ethnic Hellenomanias, the beauty of the Greek body and the power of human reason, could be combined with both the Old and New Testaments—'Hebraism'—offering a new path to becoming, first and foremost, human. These civic and athletic Hellenomanias found some powerful visual expressions in parliamentary architecture and the art of the *avant-garde*. The French *avant-garde*, in particular, saw in Greek sculpture a visual vocabulary for celebrating the beauty and vitality of the body and a stimulus for adapting the stylistic innovations of Impressionism to the making of modern works of art equally worthy of a museum.

Notes

- 1 Haggai 2:7.
- 2 Kohn (2005) 574; Smith (1999); Renan (1996); Hobsbawm (1990).
- 3 Berlin (1976) 408.
- 4 Baron (1944).

- 5 Barnard (1983).
- 6 Liebich (2006) 579.
- 7 Kohn (2005) 574.
- 8 For example, see Smith (1991).
- 9 For a more detailed exploration of this theme, see Leoussi (2016).
- 10 OFPRA at www.ofpra.gouv.fr/fr/histoire-archives/histoire-de-l-asile. Accessed 16 November 2016 (my translation of French text). The 1793 constitution was never implemented. However, the principle was revived in the Preamble to the French Constitution of 27 October 1946, and repeated in the Preamble to the Constitution of 1958.
- 11 National Park Service: Statue of Liberty at www.nps.gov/stli/learn/history/culture/the-immigrants-statue.htm. Accessed 16 November 2016. See also, Gray (1994).
- 12 National Park Service: Statue of Liberty, as above.
- 13 Assemblée Nationale at http://www2.assemblee-nationale.fr/decouvrir-l-assemblee/patrimoine/palais-bourbon-et-hotel-de-lassay/l-histoire-du-palais-bourbon-et-de-l-hotel-de-lassay#node_2383. Accessed 3 November 2016.
- 14 Guide de Visite de l'Assemblée Nationale at www.assemblee-nationale.fr/infos/visite.pdf (n.d.) 26. Accessed 3 November 2016.
- 15 U.S. Capitol at www.visitthecapitol.gov/about-capitol/evolution-capitol. Accessed 3 November 2016.
- 16 Goodsell (1988) 291.
- 17 Goodsell (1988) 291.
- 18 Theophil Hansen—Classical Elegance in Everyday Life. Exhibition 18 April–6 September 2013, Ringturm, Vienna. Press release, at www.vig.com/en/press/architektur-im-ringturm/detail/theophil-hansen-classical-elegance-in-every-day-life.html. Accessed 23 November 2016.
- 19 Austrian Parliament, at www.parlament.gv.at/ENGL/GEBF/ARGE/. Accessed 23 November 2016.
- 20 Theophil Hansen—Classical Elegance in Everyday Life. Exhibition 18 April–6 September 2013, Ringturm, Vienna. Press release at www.vig.com/en/press/architektur-im-ringturm/detail/theophil-hansen-classical-elegance-in-every-day-life.html.
- 21 Austrian Parliament, at www.parlament.gv.at/ENGL/GEBF/ARGE/. Accessed 23 November 2016.
- 22 Danyi (2012) www.worldpolicy.org/blog/2012/07/11/architecture-democracy. Accessed 2 December 2016.
- 23 UK Parliament, www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/building/palace/architecture/palacestructure/rebuilding-palace/. Accessed 2 December 2016.
- 24 UK Parliament, www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/building/palace/architecture/palacestructure/rebuilding-palace/. Accessed 2 December 2016.
- 25 Hungarian Parliament, <http://hungarianparliament.com/history/>. Accessed 2 December 2016.

- 26 Dányi (2012) at www.worldpolicy.org/blog/2012/07/11/architecture-democracy. Accessed 1 December 2016.
- 27 Prettejohn (2012) 38–103.
- 28 Winckelmann (1764); see also Potts (1994), Jenkins (1992), Harloe (2013).
- 29 Bindman (2002).
- 30 Banton (1990); Challis (2013).
- 31 Müller (1864) 246.
- 32 Müller (1889) 46; Poliakov (1971) 216.
- 33 Biddiss (1970).
- 34 Rochet (1886) 262; Knox (1862 [1850]) 41; Leoussi (2001) 473, 474.
- 35 Stanislawski (2001).
- 36 Mosse (1993) 167.
- 37 Leoussi and Aberbach (2002); Savidor (1972) 664; Umland (2013) at http://scholar.colorado.edu/honr_theses/505/. Accessed 4 February 2017.
- 38 Lempa (2007) 74.
- 39 Lempa (2007) 75.
- 40 Lempa (2007) 85.
- 41 Surak (2012) 175; Mosse (1993) 167.
- 42 Surak (2012) 175.
- 43 Butler (2012 [1935]).
- 44 Curtin (1973) 377; Challis (2010).
- 45 Knox (1862) 403.
- 46 Knox (1862) 46–7.
- 47 Knox (1862) 14.
- 48 Knox (1862) 14.
- 49 Knox (1862) 403.
- 50 Leighton (1896); Poliakov (1971) 241; Borgstede (2012) 87.
- 51 Holt (1990).
- 52 Leoussi (1998) 120–3.
- 53 Pater (2011) 282.
- 54 Moody (1873) 18.
- 55 Leonard (2012) 120–1; DeLaura (1969).
- 56 Arnold (1990) 141–2; DeLaura (1969).
- 57 Arnold (1990) 141–2.
- 58 Stone (1998) 196.
- 59 Tombs (1992) 713–19.
- 60 For the persistence and reinforcement of the cult of muscularity in France during the Second World War, not only inside the pro-Nazi Vichy government, but also in the *maquis* Resistance, see Pearson (2009) 108.

- 61 For a fuller discussion of the transformation of French national identification after the Franco-Prussian War, see Leoussi (2009).
- 62 Leoussi (2009).
- 63 Gasquet quoted in Athanassoglou-Kallmyer (2003) n. 100, 292.
- 64 Werth (2002) 197. Irish nationalism also developed a form of athletically oriented, 'muscular Catholicism', in the 1880s. See McDevitt (2002).
- 65 Rochet (1886) 262.
- 66 Rochet (1886) 246, 232.
- 67 Rochet (1886) 246, 232.
- 68 Garb (1998) 55–7.
- 69 Holt (1981) 47.
- 70 To see the full text of Jules Ferry's law on primary education, go to French Sénat at www.senat.fr/evenement/archives/D42/mars1882.pdf. Accessed 7 October 2011.
- 71 Riordan & Krüger 2003: 106.
- 72 Revel (1995) 5.
- 73 Harris (2011).
- 74 Affron and Antliff (1997).
- 75 Charreton (1985) 34.
- 76 For a fuller discussion of the role of the French artistic avant-garde in French pursuit of physical regeneration, see Leoussi (2009).
- 77 Isaacson (1980).
- 78 Cachin (1983) 392.
- 79 Dymond (2003) 353–70; Werth (2002).
- 80 House (1998).
- 81 Prettejohn (2012); Leoussi (2009).
- 82 Krumrine (2000) 35.
- 83 Athanassoglou-Kallmyer (2003).
- 84 Kendall (1989) 306. Note that Gasquet's accounts of Cézanne are not always accurate.
- 85 Jenkins (1992) 22.
- 86 Rivière, cited in Conisbee and Coutagne (2006) 233.
- 87 Krumrine (2000) 214.
- 88 Herbert (2000) 220.
- 89 House (1985) 252.
- 90 Herbert (2000) 51
- 91 Renoir quoted in House (1985) 240.
- 92 House (1985) 250.
- 93 House (1985) 232.

- 94 Herbert (2000) 80–1.
- 95 House (1998) 25.
- 96 Herbert (2000) 81.
- 97 House (1998) 25; Herbert (2000) 81.
- 98 Renoir quoted in House (1998) 25.
- 99 Green (2000) 210.
- 100 Green (2011) 3. The same turn of the artistic avant-garde towards athletic physical types, both female and male, is observable elsewhere: in England, the Pre-Raphaelites become transformed into ‘The Fleshly School of Poetry [and Art]’; in Germany, the Jewish avant-garde artist, Lesser Urry, turns to painting muscular images of Biblical Jews, e.g. *Rebecca at the Well* (c.1908); see Leoussi (2015); and Leoussi and Aberbach (2002).

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The Parthenon from the Greek Revival to modern architecture

Lena Lambrinou

Steps towards a Greek Revival

The Parthenon (Figure 6.1), erected on the Athenian Acropolis in the middle of the fifth century BC, was a temple dedicated to the goddess Athena, recognised specifically in her military form as Pallas, Leader in Battle, who gave victory to the Greeks over the Persians at the Battle of Marathon in 490 BC. The building owed its creation to the stylistic, constructional, and financial contributions—both direct and indirect—of the city’s allies. The Classical era was one of the most turbulent, yet also distinctive in Athenian history. Athenian democracy, always fragile, was ultimately brought to an abrupt end through both external and internal factors. During the medieval period, and even during the centuries of awakening and reform of Europe’s cultural identity, the material culture of ancient Greece remained completely unknown to most Europeans. The Renaissance movement, expressing the European world’s quest for new forms, quickly led architects and artists to discover past architectural models and to look greedily upon the Roman tradition, which henceforth would come to play an influential role in the architectural appearance of urban centres. Greek lands, under Ottoman rule, were often off-limits and dangerous. The turn towards Greek antiquity was marked by the beginning of European familiarity with the works of Plato, Aristotle, and Homer, as well as by the development of archaeology as a means of revealing a place’s tangible past. The quest for Arcadia, as a notion of lost paradise, which can be traced through the literary and artistic works of Renaissance writers and painters, acquired a particular significance in the late seventeenth century and contributed to the development of the Romantic movement in eighteenth century. That ‘romantic vision of a classic Arcadia’, as J. Mordaunt Crook writes, ‘is summed up in the architecture of the Greek Revival’.¹ Travellers tracing the footsteps of Pausanias, many infused with the zeal of antiquities collectors, explored the exotic lands of Greece, Anatolia, and Egypt. John Milton, although he never visited the city, praised Athens in 1671 as ‘the eye of Greece, mother of Arts and Eloquence’.² Despite such high acclaim, Greek antiquities were then still viewed as curiosities. George Wheler wrote in 1678 that he preferred them almost as much as Roman antiquities.³



Figure 6.1 View of the Parthenon

Source: Photograph by author

The search for archetypal forms and the genesis of ancient architecture was one of the main concerns of intellectuals in the Age of Enlightenment. Conditions conducive to this search within the ancient Eastern lands began to blossom. In the first half of eighteenth century, the Society of Dilettanti extended the scope of the Grand Tour from Italy to Greece, as the Greek East 'offered a fresh challenge to the adventurous and the acquisitive'.⁴ Familiarity with Greek art increased following the publication of the splendidly illustrated volume by Julien-David Le Roy in 1758⁵ and the similarly impressive works by architects James Stuart and Nicolas Revett,⁶ as well as many other publications concerning archaeological sites. A long and bitter competition between Greek enthusiasts and the admirers of Rome throughout the eighteenth century transcended the bounds of a search for architectural forms and patterns. The German scholar Johann Joachim Winckelmann, meanwhile, was one of the first to recognise the value of Greek art and its archetypal role in art history. The Neoclassical movement brought a new attitude towards ancient architecture, an *historic* view of antiquity,⁷ as opposed to the revival of ancient art for decorative purposes during the Renaissance. This difference, which related to a building's design as well as to its decoration,⁸ became apparent in Europe during the second half of the eighteenth century and continued into the nineteenth century, when the so-called Greek Revival in architecture took its place in the broader Neoclassical movement.

The new appreciation for the significance of Greek art led to the formation of an increasing number of collections of ancient Greek artefacts. In 1779,

Gavin Hamilton remarked: 'the most valuable acquisition a man of refined taste can make, is a piece of fine Greek Sculpture'.⁹ The ideas of 'Picturesque' and 'Greek' were associated from the start. In the view of Horatio Walpole (1717–1797), the development of the architectural garden adorned with 'fol-lies', by William Kent in the 1730s, was responsible for the Revival of Greece.¹⁰

The nineteenth century and the perception of 'classic'

Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, confusion remained in the distinction between Roman, Greek, and Etruscan architecture,¹¹ while classical architecture was considered everything except Gothic. Stuart and Revett's first volume of *Antiquities of Athens*, published in 1762, mostly described Hellenistic and Roman buildings (a notable exception being the Classical Ionic-style temple of Ilissos) and only one Doric portico, which is also Roman and belongs to the Forum of Augustus. Their second volume, containing detailed drawings of the Parthenon and the Hephaisteion, only appeared in 1789 (Figure 6.2). Until then, the Parthenon had been known to the public only through the schematic, inaccurate drawings of Richard Pococke (1745),¹² the amateur architectural drawings of the librarian-engraver Richard Dalton (1751) (Figure 6.3),¹³ and the picturesque drawings of the architect Julien-David Le Roy (1758) (Figure 6.4),¹⁴ the last being the most precise of the three. The drawings by Le Roy depict the details of the Parthenon with faithfulness and precision, while detailed dimensions are also recorded. Le Roy's drawings, with their use of vertical projection, represent the first scientific drawings of the Parthenon. Le Roy's own 1758 publication became widely influential in France and contributed to the establishment of a short-lived '*gout grec*' (Greek taste) in French pursuits concerning decoration, furniture-making, and miniature art.¹⁵

The aforementioned publications provided architects of the eighteenth century with quite accurate measurements of original buildings in ancient Athens and offered the greatest contribution to the Greek Revival movement of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This movement incorporated the 'primitive' Greek orders into Neoclassical buildings, along with other forms of Roman origin.¹⁶ Fluted, Doric Grecian columns were used for the first time by Stuart in garden temples at Hagley, England (1758), and in Shugborough (c.1764) (Figure 6.5).¹⁷ Architects in Britain during the latter half of the eighteenth century tended to view Greek architecture as decorative—a style appropriate for garden adornment rather than for the mainstream of architecture.¹⁸ When they came to use the Doric style, they preferred to incorporate elements of temple facades, preferably that of the Hephaisteion or the Propylaia, but never (with one exception in Edinburgh) that of the octastyle Parthenon—apparently because of its imposing size and proportions. It is worth noting that neither Stuart nor Revett ventured to use the Parthenon as a

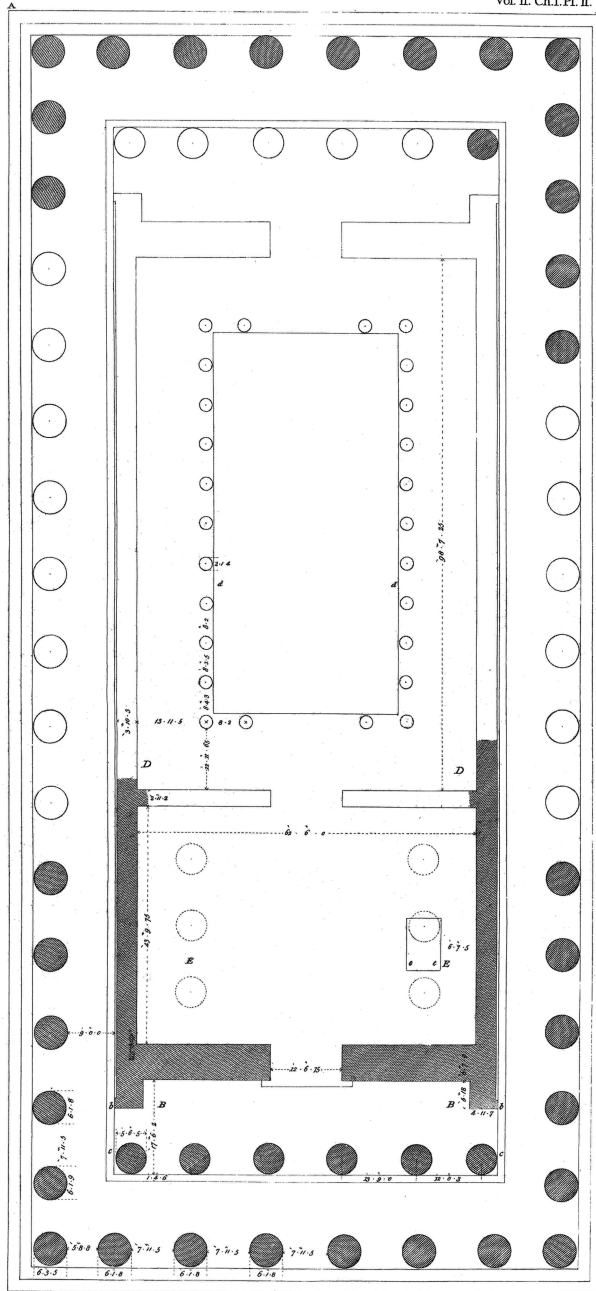


Figure 6.2 J. Stuart, N. Revett, 'The Plan of the Parthenon', in *The Antiquities of Athens*, Vol. II, Ch. I, Plate II (1789)

Source: Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies at Athens



Figure 6.3 R. Dalton: 'View of the Parthenion or Temple of Minerva at Athens', in *Antiquities and Views in Greece and Egypt* (1751)

Source: Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies at Athens

model in their own work (see also Salmon's chapter in this volume).¹⁹ The 'templar style', exemplified by the imposing portico of William Wilkins's Grange Park in Northamptonshire (1809), (Figure 6.6) was criticised for its inappropriateness in residential settings by architects Charles Cockerell and John Soane, while Richard Payne Knight also considered Greek temples unsuitable models for garden buildings.²⁰ Augustus Pugin similarly found the style unfitting and monotonous, 'notwithstanding the palpable impracticability of adapting Greek temples to our climate, habits and religion'.²¹

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, during the new era of revolution, republicanism, and redefinition of the middle class and its leadership, the need arose for a fresh style of architecture instilled with grandeur and dignity, not only with Beauty and the Picturesque. Furthermore, Napoleon's determination to establish a connection with Julius Caesar brought, after his fall from power, an understandable turn away from Rome towards other models. Periclean Athens came to be viewed as the prototype most evocative of the echoes of ancient Athenian democracy, and 'emerged as a cultural icon of a free world'.²² The Parthenon took on an ever-greater symbolism as the Philhellenic movement intensified during the Greek war for independence. Ideas linking high cultural achievements with political freedom had been drawn by

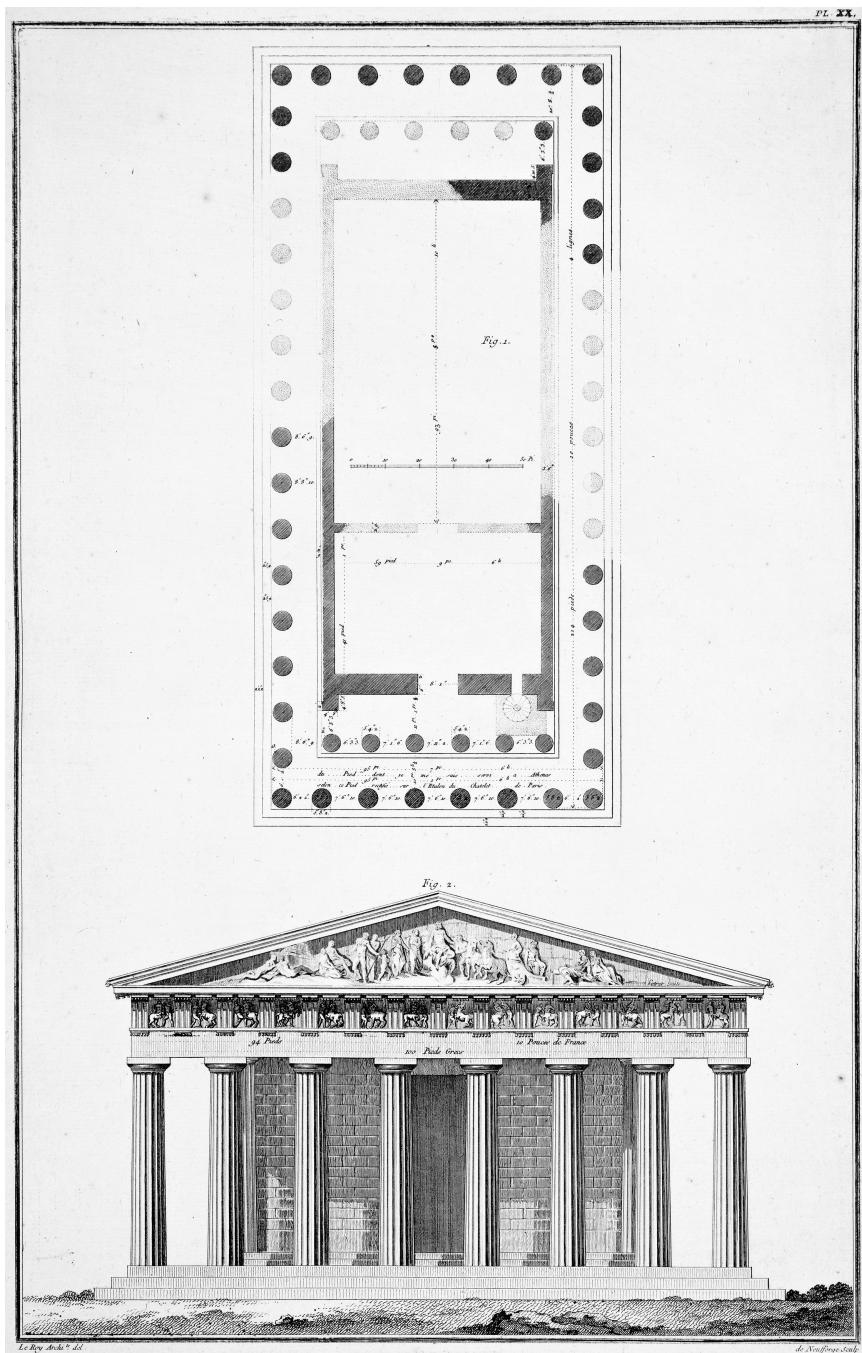


Figure 6.4 J. D. de Roy: 'Plan et Facade du Temple de Minerve a Athènes', in *Les Ruins des Plus Beaux Monuments de la Grece* (1758), Vol. I, Partie II, Planche VII

Source: Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies at Athens



Figure 6.5 J. Stuart: Garden temple in Hagley, UK, 1758 (portico of Roman Agora in Athens)

Source: Photograph courtesy of Lord Cobham, Hagley Hall



Figure 6.6 W. Wilkins: The Grange at Northington, Hampshire, UK, 1816

Source: Photograph, Mpntod at English Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Northington_Grange_-_Hampshire.jpg

David Hume as early as 1741.²³ The possibilities for exploiting the temple's image and artwork, with a focus on the socio-political connotations that the building provoked, became clearer, with the result that architects started to turn out faithful reproductions of its forms.²⁴

Political exploitation of the Parthenon

For Britain, the political example of Periclean Athens provided a better parallel than that of ancient Rome, especially in the political climate that followed the Napoleonic wars.²⁵ For Germany, a similar aversion to anything French would also turn architects' eyes towards the newfound source of architectural styles—Greek architecture—in their search for new models. In the nineteenth century, German philhellenism reached a point of obsession in the quest to identify common origins for Greeks and Germans in the region of the Caucasus mountains.²⁶ The alliance and victory of the ancient Greeks over the Persians was heralded as a parallel for the unification of the German states under one enlightened monarchy. In the case of the United States, with its own struggle for democratisation of the country and liberation from British authority, ancient Greek architecture came to play an influential role during the nineteenth century due to the Americans' ideological identification with the Periclean democracy of Athens, as well as with the present-day Greek struggle for liberation from Ottoman Turkish rule.

The introduction of genuine fifth-century BC Greek sculptures to the British (and European) public was momentous. The first of Lord Elgin's marbles appeared in London in 1803 (see also Jenkyns's chapter in this volume). The influx of these impressive artefacts played a major role in reinforcing the idea of the archetypal worth of Greek art, as 'the only relics that were as Greek as anything could possibly be'²⁷ (Figure 6.7). In Rome, while the marbles were *en route* to London, the Italian sculptor Antonio Canova refused any suggestion of their restoration. 'The naked figures are real flesh in its native beauty . . . It would be a sacrilege . . . to touch them with a chisel',²⁸ Canova reputedly declared to Lord Elgin, after the English nobleman had invited him to restore the sculptures' missing parts, in accordance with the common practice of the era.²⁹ Contemporary artists were the first to appreciate the original marbles' superiority to Roman copies of Greek works, which until then had been considered 'the touchstone of correct taste'.³⁰ Nevertheless, doubts expressed by connoisseurs concerning their chronology, authenticity, and artistic worth led to a delay in the Elgin Marbles' acceptance and appreciation by the lay public. Only in 1816, some thirteen years after they had begun arriving in England, did the British Museum finally agree to purchase them, for less than half the value that Lord Elgin claimed he had invested.³¹ For Ian Jenkins,

Parliamentary consideration of whether or not to purchase the Elgin marbles for the nation was interrupted by the Battle of Waterloo. The eventual



Figure 6.7 British Museum—Parthenon's Frieze

Source: Photograph by author, 2015

decision to acquire them was directly influenced by the idea that, just as the Parthenon had once commemorated Athens' victory over the Persians at the Battle of Marathon, so now its sculptures would commemorate England's triumph.³²

The dispute over the Parthenon's artworks 'heightened the fever of Greek Revivalism'.³³ The sculptures provided fresh inspiration to decorative elements in the external and internal adornment of buildings, as well as in Victorian wallpapers.³⁴ The Henning Family of Scotland founded a small industry producing miniature versions of the frieze in plaster. Sculptor John Henning (1771–1851) and his son John Junior (1802–1857) presented their version of the frieze³⁵ in two ambitious displays: on the Ionic screen at Hyde Park Corner (1824–1825) and around the top of the exterior walls of the Athenaeum Club (1827–1830),³⁶ in Westwood Blue and White,³⁷ (Figures 6.8–6.9), both of which structures were designed by the architect Decimus Burton. In the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge (1834–1835), designed by George Basevi, ornamental friezes inspired by the Parthenon decorate the interior, while, in the Morning Room of the Reform Club (1837–1841), designed by Charles Barry, a copy of the Parthenon's frieze runs around the upper part of the walls.³⁸ The external form of the Parthenon, particularly its eight-column façade, was used in the first half of the nineteenth century for European national and military



Figure 6.8 J. Henning, J. Henning Jr: Ionic screen at Hyde Park Corner, London, UK, 1825

Source: Photograph by author, 2016



Figure 6.9 J. Henning, J. Henning Jr: Ionic frieze at the Athenaeum Club, London, UK, 1830

Source: Photograph by author, 2016

memorials to transmit messages of national unity and social rebirth. Some of these memorials went so far as to exhibit renderings of the entire building, since their interiors were not subject to intensive use, as was the case in the fully utilitarian buildings.

National monument in Bavaria

In Bavaria, the philhellene king Ludwig I managed for his son Otto to become the first king of the newly founded state of Greece in 1832. While still Crown Prince, in 1807, Ludwig conceived the idea for a great German national monument—the Walhalla, the hall of German heroes spanning 2,000 years of Teutonic history—as a symbol of pan-German unity. A design competition was announced in 1814 and a Greek temple was stipulated by Ludwig as the preferred model.³⁹ The competition followed the Germans' victory at Leipzig against Napoleon, which had spurred a growing sense of German nationalist feeling. Ludwig's ultimate choice of the Parthenon as a model for this

monument was connected to the perception of the temple as a symbol of Greek victory over the Persians and of Greek unity under Pericles.⁴⁰

Ludwig awarded the Walhalla commission to architect Leo von Klenze in 1819. The memorial was finally constructed in 1830–1842, near Regensburg, on a hillside 300 feet (90 m) above the Danube (Figure 6.10). In his design, Klenze gave expression to the idea of the common origins of the Germans and the Greeks through the memorial's interior decoration, while in its foundation he used an irregular stone construction that imitated the prehistoric Cyclopean walls of the Athenian Acropolis—as an additional indicator of the aspired cultural link.⁴¹ In the interior, a relief figural frieze at the top of the walls, carved by Martin von Wagner in 1837, depicts scenes from the Germans' historical and mythical past until the time of their Christianisation.⁴²

National monument in Britain

In Britain, Robert Smirke, following an inspiring visit to Greece,⁴³ introduced Parthenon-like Doric columns to 'the London cityscape' in the portico of Covent Garden Theater (1808–1809).⁴⁴ During the same period, the erection of a

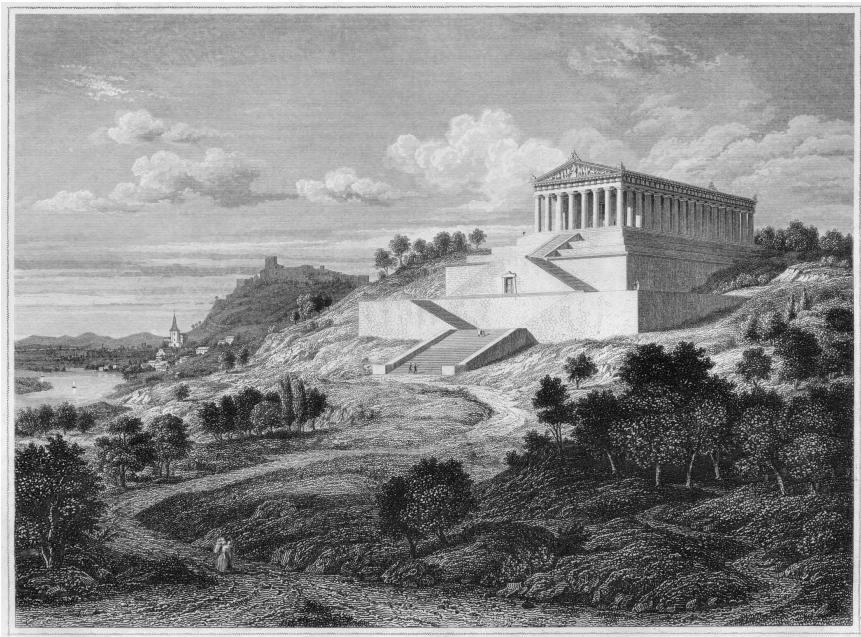


Figure 6.10 L. von Klenze: Walhalla in Donaustauf, Germany, 1842

Source: www.fotocommunity.com/photo/walhalla-apeltom/25773084

national monument in the form of the Parthenon was proposed in 1817, to be erected on a platform at the north end of London's Regent's Park on Primrose Hill, as a memorial to the Napoleonic Wars, but the monument was never constructed.⁴⁵ In 1824, William John Bankes proposed to build the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge in the shape of the Parthenon, as the highest expression of artistic achievement (Figure 6.11), but this proposal also did not succeed, due to financial problems.⁴⁶ Plans were only somewhat more successful in Scotland, where the Neoclassical ideal was embraced to evoke the 'Attic dignity' for the civic pride of Edinburgh—'the Athens of the North'. These qualities were to be represented in a national monument, first proposed in 1816, to honour Scottish citizens who had perished in the Napoleonic Wars. Approved by Parliament in 1822, the monument was constructed on Calton Hill in Edinburgh. It was designed by Charles Robert Cockerell and William Henry Playfair as a replica of the Parthenon, which would include extensive catacombs; provide a burial place for significant figures and those who had fallen in the Napoleonic Wars; and serve as a 'Scottish Valhalla'⁴⁷ as well as a functioning Christian church.⁴⁸ The works were launched in 1826, but the project eventually came to a halt in 1829 because of financial constraints.⁴⁹ Only twelve Doric columns of Graigleith stone were erected for the western peristyle and their architraves completed (Figure 6.12). The unfinished Scottish National Monument came to be known as 'Edinburgh's Folly'. The project's abandonment represented for Playfair 'the pride and poverty of Scotland',⁵⁰ while for others it marked the starting point for the decline of Neoclassicism.⁵¹

A funeral monument in Italy

In Italy, where a certain cultural and artistic unity had existed since the Renaissance, a new passion for political independence arose, after the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, which provoked a Neo-Renaissance Revival. In the first half of the nineteenth century there were only a few examples of Greece-inspired buildings. One of them is the unique Doric-style temple-mausoleum of the sculptor Antonio Canova, in Possagno (in Veneto), which was built in 1819–1831, according to his own design, in consultation with Antonio Selva among other architects.⁵² Canova had initially undertaken to repair an old parish church, but instead conceived the idea for a new religious building inspired by historical precedents.

Canova wished to produce a synthesis of two main models from ancient Greek and Roman architecture—the Parthenon and the Pantheon. The result was an octastyle Doric portico, drawn from the facade of the Parthenon, which led into a circular domed space like that of the Pantheon (Figure 6.13). At the back, he constructed a Christian apse. For the entablature of the temple-like porch, he fashioned seven plaster metopes depicting scenes from the Old and New Testaments. In creating a symbolic synthesis of the Greek, Roman, Jewish,

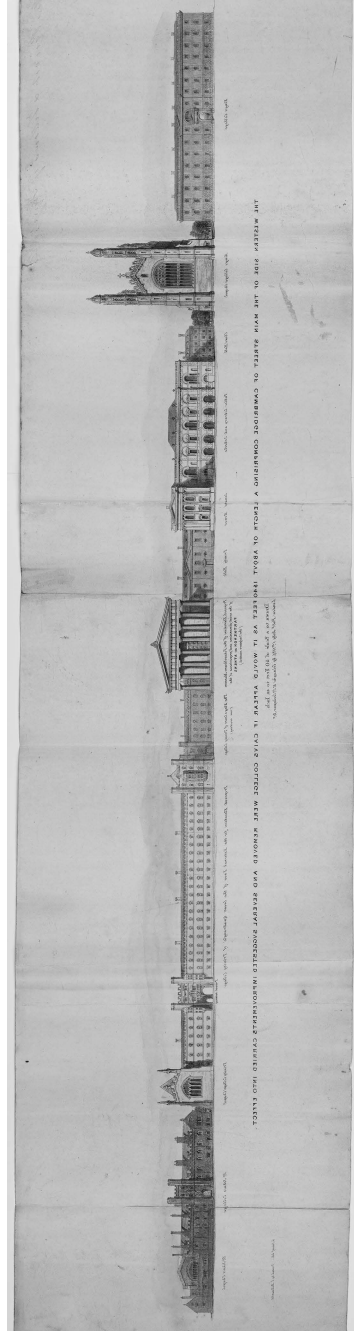


Figure 6.11 W. J. Bankes: Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, UK, 1824

Source: Cambridge Library, UA- CUR-00030-00001-000-00058



Figure 6.12 C. R. Cockerell, W. H. Playfair: The National Monument of Scotland, Edinburgh, UK, 1829

Source: © User: Colin/Wikimedia Commons/CC BY-SA 4.0, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Tourists_posing_at_the_National_Monument_of_Scotland.jpg



Figure 6.13 A. Canova: Tempio Canoviano, Possagno, Italy, 1831

Source: https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Facade_of_Tempio_Canoviano_-_Possagno_-_Province_of_Treviso,_Veneto,_Italy_-_28_Dec._2014.jpg

and Christian civilisations, Canova wished to represent the rebirth of religious sensibility.⁵³ Although Canova died in 1822, his building was completed in 1831 as a shrine to the sculptor himself—the so-called Tempio Canoviano. This parish church, according to Terry Kirk, amounts to ‘a titanic vision, a scenography of the sublime’.⁵⁴

Greek Revival in the United States

The Greek Revival was transplanted into the United States by Benjamin Henry Latrobe, an avidly pro-Greek,⁵⁵ Yorkshireman, who emigrated to the New World from England in 1796. There, the form of the Parthenon took on special significance during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, since it evoked socio-political notions particularly important at that time. Very quickly the Parthenon became representative of the American ideal of a nation under democratic rule, being the ultimate symbol of the original ancient democracy, while American intellectuals were also greatly influenced by the Greeks’ struggle for freedom.⁵⁶ In the view of architectural historian W. Barksdale Maynard, however, the Greek Revival style was not expressive of America’s democratic ideals. Instead, it was an international phenomenon inspired by British examples. Rather than reflecting an American revolt against British cultural hegemony, the Revival was ‘an eager—one could almost say servile—acquiescence to foreign preferences’, since Americans at the time were ‘almost desperate in their desire to be considered tasteful by English standards’.⁵⁷ Either way, the Parthenon inspired many U.S. architects.

In Greek-inspired buildings founded in the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century, the Parthenon was usually ‘deconstructed’, since only the temple’s facade was used—in combination with elements from other Attic buildings, such as the Thrasyllos monument, or from Roman monuments, especially the Pantheon; while in interior contexts it was subject to different interpretations and a range of applications that covered the buildings’ diverse practical needs.⁵⁸ This eclectic choice was related to the difficulty of adapting the Parthenon’s plan to meet satisfactorily modern needs of lighting, as well as numerous other requirements for the proper functioning of these utilitarian buildings. American architect William Strickland (1788–1854) admitted that although ‘we recognise the leading features of that celebrated work of antiquity, . . . it is a difficult task for an architect to preserve all the characteristics of a Grecian temple’.⁵⁹

In 1818, Strickland, a former pupil of Benjamin Henry Latrobe, with the Parthenon as his prototype, won the architectural design competition for the Second Bank of the United States, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. His proposal may have incorporated some of Latrobe’s ideas.⁶⁰ The competition’s announcement, under the influence of the philhellene and later-to-be president of the bank, Nicolas Biddle, called for plans that would reflect ‘a chaste imitation of Grecian

architecture, in its simplest and least expensive form'.⁶¹ Strickland's winning design adopted the Parthenon's facade for the two porticoes at the front and rear of the building, at a scale of 3:5 of the temple's original dimensions. Budgetary constraints forced Strickland to delete the side colonnades, introduce plain pediments and omit elaborately carved friezes of Athenian prototype (Figure 6.14).⁶² This use of the Parthenon's facade for the Second Bank's main building in Philadelphia provided incentive for use elsewhere of the Greek Doric order—albeit in simpler forms—and by the 1840s, bank buildings in Greek Revival style had become a familiar sight throughout the country.⁶³ 'Grecian' became the official style for American governmental buildings⁶⁴ and was used particularly for statehouses, banks, and other finance-related buildings, although it came to influence also residential architecture, especially in the southern states.

In 1831, the architectural firm of Ithiel Town (1784–1844) and Alexander Jackson Davis (1803–1892) created the winning design for the new statehouse in the state of Indiana. Their plans called for a Parthenon-inspired structure with a ribbed Renaissance Revival dome.⁶⁵ The sides of the building had a row of pillars inspired by the Thrasyllus monument, which had first served as a model in William Wilkin's Grange Park in 1809, in Hampshire, England.⁶⁶

Ithiel Town and Alexander Jackson Davis also constructed the U.S. Custom House, now the Federal Hall National Memorial, on Wall Street in New York City, erected in 1833–1842. The building—also furnished with a Parthenon-like



Figure 6.14 W. Strickland: Second Bank of Philadelphia, USA, 1818

Source: Photograph by F. D. Nichols, 1939, The Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC, HABS PA-51-PHILA-223-42-137317pu

facade—is one of the best surviving examples of Neoclassical architecture in the state of New York. The sides of the building are adorned with a series of pillars styled after the Thrasyllus monument. Constructed of Westchester marble and requiring about a decade to complete, the Custom House was constructed on the site of the old Federal Hall, the first U.S. capitol, where George Washington, the new nation's first president, was inaugurated (Figure 6.15).

Robert Mills (1781–1855), another student of Benjamin Henry Latrobe, also used the facade of the Parthenon for the porch of the Patent Office in Washington, DC (based on a plan by Ithiel Town and William Parker Elliot).⁶⁷ This building was begun in 1836, although its massive structure required thirty-one years to complete. Mills is reported to have described the proportions of the Office's Greek-Revival-style central portico as 'exactly those of the Parthenon of Athens'—a departure for Washington, where previously the city's ambitious public building programme had been based on Roman and Renaissance precedents⁶⁸ (Figure 6.16).

As a prototype for residential architecture, the Parthenon's facade was first used in the porch of an American private house at Berry Hill,⁶⁹ near Halifax,



Figure 6.15 I. Town, A. J. Davis: United States Custom House, now Federal Hall National Memorial, New York, USA, 1842

Source: Photograph by author, 2009



Figure 6.16 R. Mills, I. Town, W. P. Elliot: Patent office, Washington, DC, USA, 1867

Source: Photograph by W. H. Jackson, 1900, The Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division Washington, DC, LC-DIG-det-4a10712u

in Virginia. A local architect, John Evans Johnson, was commissioned in 1842 by the owner of the estate, James Coles Bruce (1806–1865), to plan a mansion modelled after the Parthenon. This stately home, known as Berry Hill, which also exhibits a Palladian layout,⁷⁰ was completed in 1844 and has been called the purest example of Greek Revival architecture to exist in Virginia.⁷¹

A piece of the Parthenon in the Washington Monument

In one extraordinary case, an actual piece of the original Parthenon itself, in the form of a single marble block, can be found inside the Washington Monument in Washington, DC. This is another work by Robert Mills, who designed a 500-foot-tall obelisk (152,5 metres), surrounded by a circular colonnade topped with equestrian statuary (Figure 6.17).⁷² The outer surface of the Parthenon's



Figure 6.17 R. Mills: Washington Monument

Source: The Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC, LC-DIG-highsm-09899

original block, now embedded in one of the Monument's interior walls, serves as one of one hundred ninety-three commemorative stone tablets, which were installed—mostly during the period 1849–1855—in honour of the first U.S. president, George Washington.⁷³ The Greek government donated the block in 1856 as a contribution to the Washington Monument's interior decoration. The block measures 1.143 m (length) by 0.760 m (height) and is positioned in the wall 190 feet (almost 60 metres) above the ground—where it can be viewed from an internal staircase provided for visitors.⁷⁴ Judging from the Parthenon block's distinctive marble veins and dimensions, it likely represents an element from an orthostate course, presumably that in the middle of the south long wall of the temple's cella,⁷⁵ an area of major destruction following the explosion of 1687. In the middle of the nineteenth century, many blocks of the cella's orthostates could still be found scattered around the building. In its current setting, if we judge from the pattern of the veining, the block has been turned 90° from its original orientation; thus, its original height has become a longitudinal dimension more appropriate for the lengthy inscription.

Optical refinements in modern architecture

During the second half of the nineteenth century, some specific, well-known elements of the Parthenon's architecture were selected for incorporation into new building designs, such as its optical refinements. In Athens, for example, the Ionic-style buildings of the Academy of Athens, designed by Theophil Hansen and Ernst Ziller and constructed in 1859–1867, in addition to the *entasis* (swelling) of their columns (Biris 2001, 142), were believed until recently to exhibit an upward curvature in the platform at the front of the central building—a refinement supposedly used here for the first time since antiquity.⁷⁶ Ziller, who was involved in the constructional details of the building as the supervisor of the works as soon as 1859,⁷⁷ in his study of the curvature evident in the Parthenon itself published in 1865, discussed the practical method for constructing such a curvature.⁷⁸ His publication demonstrates his interest in including the ancient floor curvature in contemporary classically inspired buildings. Prof. Manolis Korres, however, has demonstrated that the Academy's steps are in fact perfectly horizontal.⁷⁹ This debate recalls the lack of curvature in some earlier Neoclassical buildings discussed by Salmon in this volume (as well as his discussion of how modern aesthetic requirements often override historicist needs). Despite its rediscovery in 1837,⁸⁰ Neoclassical architects avoided incorporating the floor curvature into their works, perhaps because of the controversy regarding its origin in the first years after its rediscovery, but mainly because of the practical difficulty involved in constructing a superstructure on a curved foundation. Horizontal curvature was applied later in the first decades of the twentieth century, mainly in outdoor cases, where the lack of any superstructure resolved the difficult problem required in combining inclined columns and pediments with a curved floor.

Thus, in the United States, an upward curvature was incorporated into Columbia University's Low Memorial Library in New York City, designed by Charles F. McKim, in 1895–1898. Its front steps exhibit a slight arc with a rise of seven centimetres. A similar curvature was included in the steps of the National War College's Roosevelt Hall, built in 1903–1907 in Washington, DC.⁸¹

The Philadelphia Museum of Art (1916–1928), although displaying Ionic-style columns, came to be called the 'Parthenon on the Parkway', while its location is referred to as the 'Acropolis of Philadelphia'. The exterior of the museum features optical refinements employed in the Parthenon itself, including an upward curvature—but also *outward* and *inward* wall curvatures in plan not reflective of the original building (Figure 6.18).⁸² In essence, all of the museum's walls were either concave or convex, in addition to other refinements of the horizontal lines of the stylobate, the cornice, and the roof peaks. The original Parthenon, however, does not reveal any constructional curves in its plan, only in its elevations.⁸³ An architectural team led by architects Horace

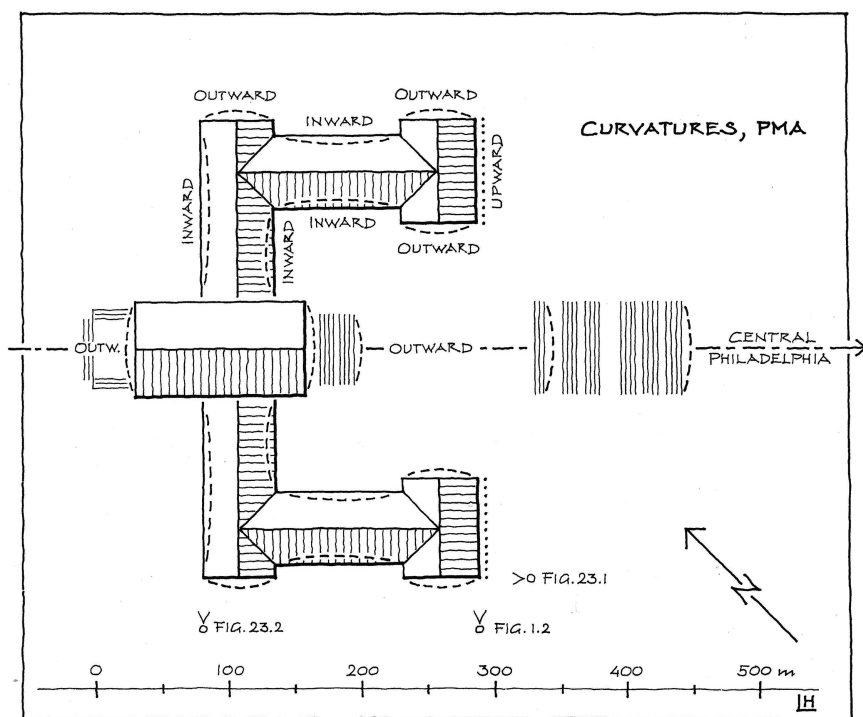


Figure 6.18a H. Trumbauer, H. L. Shay, J. Abele, C. C. Zantzinger:
Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1928: System of curvatures in plan
Source: Schematic drawing: L. Haselberger, license by creator

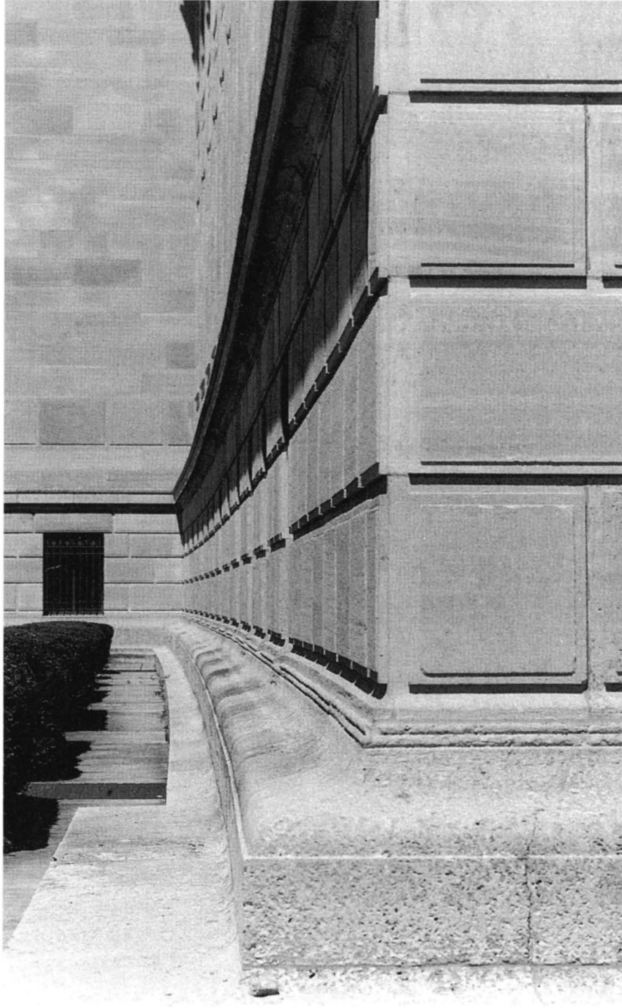


Figure 6.18b H. Trumbauer, H. L. Shay, J. Abele, C. C. Zantzinger:
Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1928, Southwest wing: Concave
external wall, showing an inward curvature in plan

Source: Photograph by L. Haselberger, license by creator

Trumbauer, his colleagues Howell Lewis Shay and Julian Abele, as well as Clarence C. Zantzinger, all collaborated, along with architectural historian W. H. Goodyear, to complete the lengthy project. The Philadelphia Museum offers the richest contemporary corpus of Classical Greek refinements ever realised.⁸⁴

A full-scale replica of the Parthenon with optical refinements

A full-scale replica of the original Parthenon of Athens was built in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1897, as part of the Tennessee Centennial Exposition (Figure 6.19). Nashville was then known as the ‘Athens of the South’ and the choice of the Parthenon as the central feature of the fair was thus appropriate. Although a number of buildings in the Exposition were also based on ancient originals, the Parthenon was the only one honoured with an exact reproduction. The Nashville Parthenon was initially intended to be a temporary structure, built of plaster, wood, and brick, but was later replaced by a permanent construction of reinforced concrete in 1921–1927. Nashville architect Russell E. Hart served as the replica’s architect.⁸⁵ Hart based his reconstruction on Francis Cranmer Penrose’s detailed measurements of the original building of 1851.⁸⁶ William B. Dinsmoor, the eminent architectural historian, was consulted on the building’s details and ultimately offered a solution in 1927 for the still-debated question of the constructional specifics of its interior.⁸⁷ The Nashville Parthenon contains optical refinements rendered with an accuracy of one-eighth of an inch.⁸⁸ Today, it stands as the centrepiece of Nashville’s Centennial Park. A replica of the Athena Parthenos cult statue was also created and installed in 1990–2002.⁸⁹ Still missing, however, is the Ionic frieze that decorated the exteriors walls of the cella in the original Parthenon.



Figure 6.19 R. E. Hart: The second Parthenon in Nashville, Tennessee, USA, 1927. Noticeable is the effect of the columns’ entasis, shown for the first time in a Parthenon reproduction, which gives to the building a closer sense of the original

Source: Photograph by Mayur Phadtare—Own work, CC BY-SA 3.0, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=21779465>

A war memorial in Australia with column inclination

After the First World War, a memorial was erected in Melbourne, Australia, in commemoration of the 114,000 men and women of Victoria who served, and of those who died, in the Great War of 1914–1918 (of the 89,100 who departed for the front, 19,000 did not return). The Shrine of Remembrance, built between July 1928 and November 1934, drew inspiration from the Parthenon in Athens and the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus in present-day western Turkey in order to symbolise both the democratic tradition for which the soldiers died and the eternity of their afterlife.⁹⁰ The Shrine of Remembrance's design was selected in 1923 through a competition among Australian artists and architects. Eighty-three designs were entered, with the winner submitted by two Melbourne architects and war veterans, Phillip Burgoyne Hudson and James Hastie Wardrop.⁹¹

The Parthenon's octastyle facade is reproduced in the Australian memorial's Doric entrance porches (Figure 6.20). These porticos on the Shrine's north



Figure 6.20 P. B. Hudson and J. H. Wardrop: Remembrance Monument, Melbourne, Australia, 1934

Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:IA2015_gnangarra-145.jpg

and south sides are identical. Eight massive columns, all of which exhibit entasis and an inward inclination similar to that of the Parthenon's columns, support a triangular pediment filled with allegorical sculpture. Hudson made all the Shrine's vertical lines incline inwards to a theoretical point of convergence 2.250 kilometres above ground level.⁹²

The inspiration for the Shrine's external outline and stepped, pyramidal roof came from one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World—the Mausoleum of Harlicarnassus, built for King Mausolus of Caria in southwestern Asia Minor. The crowning decorative feature on top of the Shrine was inspired by a similar floral decoration at the apex of the choregic Lysicrates Monument in Athens.⁹³

Modern Movement and the Parthenon

The influence of the Parthenon on architects of the Modern Movement can be traced indirectly. The Swiss architect Le Corbusier (Charles-Edouard Jeanneret), after visiting the Acropolis in the early twentieth century, had something of a revelation that influenced his creative direction. He identified the planning principles underlying the form of the building and proceeded to incorporate them into his own architectural vision. Le Corbusier, in acknowledging the Parthenon's perfection and qualities, remarked that 'each part is decisive; scores the maximum in precision and expression; proportion here reads as categorical'.⁹⁴ He describes the Parthenon as 'a machine for stirring emotion' and remarks that its 'plastic mechanics' create an impression of 'cut and polished steel'.⁹⁵ Ultimately, the Modern Movement's principles have more in common with those of Classical Greek construction than with any other type of architecture. Classical architecture's functionality, simplicity of form, the standardisation of its elements, and its elaborated notion of 'modulor'—the *modénature* or 'contour modulation'⁹⁶—represent the same basic principles as those of modernist architecture.

Le Corbusier's inspiration from the Parthenon is manifested in an abstract, ingenious form in his acclaimed 1928 Villa Savoye, in Poissy, France, considered by architectural historians to be 'the epitome of the architect's avant-garde cubist houses' (Figure 6.21).⁹⁷ The villa site's uphill inclination towards the house is paralleled by the rising course of the Panathenaic Way towards the Acropolis and the Parthenon. The tripartite horizontal band, on delicate vertical supports, was inspired by the Parthenon's façade with its colonnade and three-banded entablature. The villa's vertical supports reappear in the middle zone of upper part of the building, just as the Parthenon's triglyphs transfer the verticality of its columns to the entablature.

Furthermore, the white colour and clear plan of the villa may be viewed as an unconscious—or, more likely, a conscious—reference to the Parthenon.⁹⁸

Walter Gropius, another leading representative of the Modern Movement, designed the American Embassy in Athens, a distinctive building erected in 1956–1961, characterised by a similarly abstract reference to the peristyle of



Figure 6.21 Le Corbusier: Villa Savoye, Poissy, France, 1928

Source: Photograph by LStrike, 'Creative Commons Namensnennung-Weitergabe unter gleichen Bedingungen Deutschland', https://de.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Datei:Villa_Savoye_2015.jpg&filetimestamp=20160626112106



Figure 6.22 W. Gropius: The American Embassy, Athens, Greece, 1961

Source: Photograph by author, 2015

the Parthenon (Figure 6.22). A basic principle underlying the construction of embassies around the world is for such buildings to reflect local architectural traditions. For the American Embassy in Athens, Gropius used Pentelic marble, the material of the Parthenon, and incorporated a series of thin supports around the building, with a very thin entablature, that gives the impression of a peristyle or stoa. This peristyle may not reproduce any of the proportions of its original model, but it alludes to the Parthenon's image and highlights one of the temple's most distinctive features—the colonnade—through the use of abstraction, an essential characteristic of the Modernist Movement.

Conclusion

In conclusion, architecture holds a unique power in the transmission of ideological, social, and political messages. Architectural creations serve as tangible witnesses that inform us about the societies that produced them. In the particular case of the Parthenon, the universally recognised Classical Greek temple has served through the centuries as an inspirational model and has spawned a wide range of ideological purposes. From serving a need for an historical identity in the early nineteenth century, to providing the basis for a desired association with a respected past culture, to encouraging visions of a lost Arcadian paradise, the Parthenon has played a remarkably different role in every period or phase of architectural development, following its rediscovery by western cultures. The Parthenon, as a relic of Periclean Athens, has also been heralded as the greatest representative of a democratic society, as a symbol of a unified nation, or most recently as an archetype of authentic architectural clarity, honesty, and perfection. An understanding of the Parthenon's diverse diachronic receptions leads to an appreciation of the needs of societies that repeatedly looked back to it in order to transmit significant messages to their own citizenry. Today, the Parthenon remains a timeless, evocative symbol, ripe with connotations, especially for the Greek Classical era that for many viewers, straining to see through the dusts of time, does indeed resemble a lost Arcadia.

Notes

- 1 Crook (1972) xi.
- 2 Milton (1671) line 240, cited in Crook (1972) 3.
- 3 Wheler (1682) 357: 'As to the eminent Monuments of Antiquity, yet remaining at *Athens*, I dare prefer them before any place in the World, *Rome* only excepted. Therefore I will in the next place consider them, giving you the best and truest Account my Observations will enable me; beginning our survey, first, with the *Acropolis*, or Castle; being situated in the midst of the rest, and the most ancient and eminent Part of *Athens*'.
- 4 Crook (1972) 6–7.
- 5 Middleton (2004) 25; Le Roy (2004 [1758]).

- 6 Stuart and Revett (1762). See also chapter by Frank Salmon in this volume.
- 7 Summerson (1993) 377.
- 8 Crook (1972) 74.
- 9 Irwin (1962) 88; Stoneman (1987) 179.
- 10 Stoneman (1987) 215.
- 11 Crook (1972) 69.
- 12 Pococke (1745) LXVII, 162.
- 13 Dalton (1751).
- 14 Le Roy (2004).
- 15 Mallouchou-Tufano (1994) 172.
- 16 Other examples: Revett's folly at Standlynch, Wiltshire (c.1766) and Ayot St Lawrence, Buckinghamshire (1778) (<https://thecountryseat.org.uk/> and https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ayot_St_Lawrence) of the semifluted Doric order of the temple of Apollo at Delos; Latrobe's Paestum Porticoes at Hamewood and Ashdown in Sussex (1793–1794); Harrison's monumental Chester Castle (1785–1820) (Crook, 1972, 77).
- 17 Until recently the 'Temple of Theseus' was thought to be built at a scale of 1:7 and modelled on the Athenian Hephaisteion. Goalen (2010) has, however, established that its column ratio is 1:6 and that it is based on the Doric Portico in the Roman Agora in Athens (now called the Gate of Athena Archegetis, which is the west gate of the Roman Agora).
- 18 Stoneman (1987) 191.
- 19 Stoneman (1987) 195.
- 20 Watkin (2006) 517.
- 21 Crook (1972) 134–5.
- 22 Fehlmann (2007) 361.
- 23 Fehlmann (2007) 359.
- 24 Risebero (1991) 182.
- 25 Turner (1989) 69.
- 26 Etlin (2005) 381.
- 27 Fehlmann (2007) 273.
- 28 Crook (1972) 39.
- 29 Cook (1997) 78.
- 30 Cook (1997) 81.
- 31 Crook (1972) 39.
- 32 Jenkins (2000) 149.
- 33 Crook (1972) 40.
- 34 Jenkins (1994) 179, fig. 6. At the Great Exhibition of 1851, Jeffrey & Co. exhibited a wallpaper frieze reproducing the Elgin Marbles. These were probably intended for public buildings such as town halls, and other civic buildings, and

- for places of public entertainment such as theatres. www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/a/architectural-wallpapers
- 35 Boardman (1985) 252; Jenkins (2000) 149.
 - 36 Crook (1972) 123, fig.178/211; Boardman (1985) 252; Jenkins (2000) 152; Neils (2001) 230, fig. 165; Watkin (2006) 516.
 - 37 The figures were painted with a blue background, which made them quite discernible: see Jenkins (2000) 155 and Neils (2001) 230. The frieze was added at considerable expense, and the promoter of the idea was the Secretary of the Admiralty, J. W. Croker. Others would have preferred the money to be spent on the creation of an ice house to provide cold storage in the summer, which led to the composition of the witticism: *'I'm John Wilson Croker, I do as I please; Instead of an Ice House, I give you—a frieze!'* www.athenaeumclub.co.uk/
 - 38 Tournikiotis (1994) 218.
 - 39 Watkin (2005) 485.
 - 40 Etlin (2005) 380.
 - 41 Etlin (2005) 381.
 - 42 Watkin (2005) 485.
 - 43 Crook (1972) 56.
 - 44 Maynard (2002) 226.
 - 45 Fehlmann (2007) 366.
 - 46 Fehlmann (2007) 367.
 - 47 Grant (1887) 109. On this monument, see also Salmon's chapter in this volume.
 - 48 Tournikiotis (1994) 209.
 - 49 Crook (1972) 106.
 - 50 Crook (1972) 107.
 - 51 Tournikiotis (1994) 209.
 - 52 Watkin (2005) 490.
 - 53 Tournikiotis (1994) 209, www.wiw.net/pages.php?CDpath=3_5_6_253_473, <http://dome.mit.edu/handle/1721.3/21040?show=full>. ('Antonio Canova', p. 347–9).
 - 54 Kirk (2005) 150.
 - 55 Latrobe described himself as *'a bigoted Greek in the condemnation of the Roman architecture'* (Sutton 1992, 18; Maynard 2002, 71).
 - 56 Down (1944) 173; Sutton (1992) 43; Etlin (2005) 382; Tyler and Tyler (2014) 70.
 - 57 Maynard (2002) 249.
 - 58 Tournikiotis (1994) 210.
 - 59 Sutton (1992) 26.
 - 60 Sutton (1992) 176, note 24. Latrobe was defeated in this competition by Strickland and subsequently accused him of plagiarism (Maynard 2002, 228), a charge, however, that Hamlin dismisses (Hamlin 1944, 76, 321).

- 61 Sutton (1992) 25.
- 62 Sutton (1992) 26.
- 63 Sutton (1992) 27.
- 64 Crook (1972) 41.
- 65 Sutton (1992) 35–6.
- 66 In Britain the first time it appeared in William Wilkin's Grange Park in Hampshire (1809) and also in University College, Gowen Street, in London (1826). Also it appears in Karl Friedrich Schinkel's architecture, in Schauspielhaus in Berlin (1818–1821) (Watkin 2006, 517, fig.13–4, 522, fig. 13–13, 528, fig.13–22) and also in Sir John Soane's Bank of England, at Theadneedle Street in London (1823–1826) (Crook 1972, fig. 169).
- 67 Bryan (2001) 219.
- 68 Bryan (2001) *ibid*.
- 69 The Berry Hill Plantation covered 3,600 acres (1,500 ha) and it was one of the largest plantations in Virginia.
- 70 Tournikiotis (1994) 218.
- 71 www.virginiamemory.com/online_classroom/union_or_secession/people/james_bruce
- 72 Jacob (2005) 3.
- 73 Jacob (2005) 1.
- 74 The inscription on the block, carved in Greek, reads: 'George Washington, the hero, the citizen of the New and Illustrious Liberty: the land of Solon, Themistocles and Pericles—the mother of ancient liberty—sends this ancient stone as a testimony of honor and admiration from the Parthenon' (Jacob 2005, 132).
- 75 The block in question was apparently cut from a larger original orthostate, which may have come from the interior course of the south long wall of the Parthenon's cella, near the central transverse wall. Orthostates in this area exhibit the least height of all the cella's orthostates: 1.147 m (Orlandos 1977, 281, pl.183). Alternatively, the Parthenon block could be a piece from an orthostate in the central transverse wall itself, which also had orthostate blocks with a similar height and less thickness than those of the long walls: about 40 cm or less. Today, it is not possible to fully inspect the now walled-in inscribed block, or to measure its thickness, in order to provide further information concerning its specific origin.
- 76 Niemann & von Feldegg (1893) 36; Haselberger (1999, 309).
- 77 Kasimati (2010) 16.
- 78 Ziller (1865) 52; Haselberger (1999) 309.
- 79 M. Korres, lecture delivered at the National Technical University of Athens, 16 October 2014 ('Καμπυλώσεις των οριζοντίων γραμμών σε έργα του κλασικισμού').
- 80 The existence of the Parthenon's horizontal curvature (in elevation) was noticed by Hoffer before 1837 and Pennethorne in 1837 (see Hoffer 1838, Pennerthorne 1878, and Goodyear 1912, 3–4). This curvature was measured thoroughly by

- Francis Cranmer Penrose in 1845–1846 (see Penrose 1888, an enlarged edition of the 1851 publication). Ziller was probably aware of all of these published works.
- 81 Haselberger (1999) 309.
 - 82 Haselberger (1999) 310–11, Connelly (2014) 358, note 1.
 - 83 Dinsmoor (1950), 168; Haselberger (1999) 12. The Parthenon's optical refinements *in plan*, in the form of an intentional constructional curvature inwards or outwards, was first proposed by Pennethorne in 1844 (1878) and fully supported by Goodyear (1912).
 - 84 Haselberger (1999) 311.
 - 85 Creighton (1996) 22.
 - 86 Creighton (1996) 22–3.
 - 87 Creighton (1996) 45.
 - 88 Dinsmoor (1950) 164; Creighton (1996) 36; Haselberger (1999) 312.
 - 89 www.nashville.gov/Parks-and-Recreation/Parthenon.aspx (retrieved: September 2016)
www.conservancyonline.com/the_parthenon/history_parthenon (retrieved: September 2016)
 - 90 The Shrine architects' inspiration came not directly from the original remains of these two ancient buildings, but through two recent commemorative monuments in the USA: the Abraham Lincoln Memorial in Washington DC (1922) and the tomb of Ulysses S. Grant (Grant's Tomb) in New York City (1897). The first monument drew freely from Greek Doric temples – particularly from the Parthenon, borrowing its Doric style and one of its famous optical refinements: an inward inclination of the building's walls and surrounding exterior colonnade (https://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/cultural_diversity/Lincoln_Memorial_National_Memorial.html, access 10-11-17) – although the final design of the Lincoln Memorial demonstrates its own identity and form. The second monument, of which the chairman of the Melbourne competition committee was a great admirer, was also a free inspiration, based on the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus (Inglis & Brasier (2008) 302).
 - 91 Inglis and Brasier (2008), 299–312.
 - 92 As the Nashville Parthenon had just been completed in 1925, Hudson's information concerning optical refinements may have come directly from Dinsmoor, or from his book *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, first published in 1927, in which Dinsmoor calculated the meeting points of the Parthenon's *flanks* columns at 2.414 km above the pavement (1.5 miles, Dinsmoor 1950, 165). F. C. Penrose had previously proposed a different value for the meeting points of the *flanks* columns: '5,856 feet [1,785 km] from the pavement' (Penrose 1888, 36, note 1). However, the Parthenon's eight *facade* columns, not its *flank* columns, were those reproduced in the Shrine. The theoretical meeting points of the Parthenon's *facade* columns – which neither Dinsmoor nor Penrose calculated – are different from those of the temple's *flank* columns. According to the calculations of M. Korres (1994) 67 fig.13, the meeting points of the Parthenon's *facades* columns are actually about 4.950 km above the pavement – significantly higher

than Hudson's calculation for the Shrine. This means that the Parthenon's *facade* columns exhibit a smaller inward inclination than that which Hudson gave to the Shrine's columns.

- 93 www.shrine.org.au/The-Shrine-Story/Features-and-Memorials/Shrine-Exterior#sthash.DkZcgK85.dpuf (retrieved: Sep. 2016).
- 94 Le Corbusier (2007) 185. Note that Frederick Etchells' 1927 translation gives a slightly different version of this sentence: 'Each part is decisive and marks the highest point in precision and execution: proportion is clearly written therein' (Le Corbusier 1927, 140).
- 95 Le Corbusier (2007) 241, 246; Cohen (2007) 22.
- 96 Le Corbusier (2007) 246–7; Goodman (2007) xii; Cohen (2007) 22.
- 97 Etlin (2005) 388.
- 98 Tournikiotis (1994) 225.

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The Greek spirit: current architecture and sculpture in England

David Watkin

Is there a significant wave of 'Hellenomania' in current English architecture and sculpture? And if so, who are its practitioners? What are their intellectual contexts, models, and even heroes? And how does this very contemporary 'Greek Revival' compare to both earlier and present-day movements in other countries? In this chapter I will explore these questions, starting with a brief discussion of earlier examples of 'Hellenomania', before examining examples of this new 'Greek spirit' in contemporary architecture in England.

The human body, natural forms, and early Greek revivals

Greece is alive in England again, and I suggest that one of the reasons why it is so timeless is because its Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian architectural orders are related to the human body, as claimed by Vitruvius, who is now thought to have taken this from a lost essay of the fifth century BC.¹ The human body also features in John Shute's *The First and Chief Grounds of Architecture* of 1563, where he related each of the five canonical orders (Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, Tuscan, and Composite) to an appropriate caryatid: thus the male Doric with Hercules, the feminine Ionic with Hera (Figure 7.1). Karl Friedrich Schinkel chose the baseless Greek Doric to express the military force of soldiers in his *Neue Wache* in Berlin of 1816—a building that in many surviving old images shows its columns blending with the figures of marching or guarding soldiers. In the interior of Vincenzo Scamozzi's theatre at Sabbioneta of the 1580s the columns are surmounted by lively figures, which seem to be a natural continuation of them. In stuccowork in the Palazzo Spada in Rome in 1559 the Doric triglyph merges with the male head, and at the Cour Carrée at the Louvre in 1550 the hair and flowing robes of Jean Goujon's goddess of Victory seem a mirror image of the acanthus leaves of the Corinthian order. Like columns, the ornaments of the orders are imitations of timeless nature, as in the acanthus leaves on one of the earliest Corinthian capitals, at the tholos at Epidauros of c.370 BC. The honeysuckle ornament at the Erechtheion is imitated by Hans Hansen at the Academy in Athens in 1840.

Revivals of ancient Greek design by architects such as Hansen had already existed in antiquity itself, as in the replicas of the Erechtheion caryatids in the

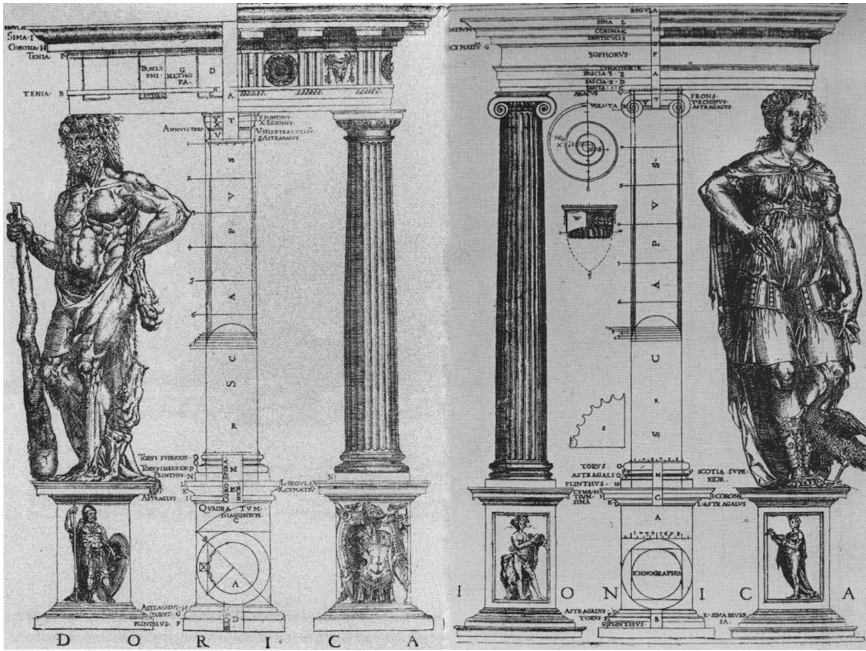


Figure 7.1 John Shute, Doric column as Herakles and Ionic column as Hera
(*The First and Chief Grounds of Architecture*, 1563)

Source: Photograph by N. Momigliano

attic of the porticus of the Forum Augustum in Rome (c.10–2 BC); so perhaps the emperor Augustus can be seen as the inventor of the Greek Revival, though there were already caryatids by the Greek sculptor, Diogenes, in Agrippa's Pantheon in Rome of 25 BC. Another early example of the role of imitation and revival is the circular Temple of Roma and Augustus, with nine columns in the Erechtheion Ionic order, built on the Athenian Acropolis in c.18/20 BC in honour of the deified Augustus, to commemorate his submission of the Parthians, echoing the Athenians' defeat of the Persians.

These examples from the world of Augustus were followed by Hadrian at his Villa at Tivoli of the early first century AD, where his Temple of Aphrodite is Greek Doric, then an anachronistic style, two or three hundred years out of date, and hardly ever adopted by the Romans. It echoes the celebrated Greek temple of Aphrodite at Cnidus on the coast of Asia Minor, of the third or second century BC.² Hadrian even placed inside in his temple a copy of the Cnidian statue of Aphrodite by Praxiteles, one of the most admired and visited statues in the ancient world. According to Pausanias, a statue of Hadrian stood next to that of Athena in the Parthenon. He carefully restored and rebuilt ancient Greek temples which had become decayed, notably the Temple of

Dionysus at Teos, and was known for his stylistically archaistic taste in tomb design, rebuilding that of Ajax and writing epigrams for those of Hector and of the Archaic lyric poet, Archilochus, at Paros.³

Greek spirit in contemporary England

A hero for many current enthusiasts for Hellenomania is the architect, archaeologist, and artist, Charles Robert Cockerell (1788–1863), who was sent to work in the office of the leading Greek Revival architect, Robert Smirke, in 1809. Like many others, he saw Smirke's work as uninspired and mechanical, but when in Greece and Sicily in 1811 Cockerell was fortunate enough to make the revolutionary discovery of the idiosyncratic architecture of the temples of Apollo at Bassae and of Jupiter Olympius at Agrigento, and also discovered the pedimental sculpture of the Temple of Aphaia on the island of Aegina. As a result of these revelations, he came to see sculpture as the voice of architecture and also understood the role of polychromy. Homage to Cockerell is paid in many striking projects by the talented contemporary architects Robert Adam, Quinlan and Francis Terry, George Saumarez Smith, John Simpson, and Craig Hamilton, who between them have spearheaded a Greek Revival in contemporary Britain.

The Sackler Classics library at Oxford (Figure 7.2), designed in the 1990s by Robert Adam and completed in 2001, is an addition to the Ashmolean Museum, which Cockerell built in the 1840s. In the Ashmolean, Cockerell had employed the unique Ionic order he had seen at Ictinus's Temple of Apollo Epicurius at Bassae.⁴ Adam felt that a Greek-inspired language was also appropriate for the new library in Oxford. His entrance portico is a tholos, a circular Greek temple like that at Cnidus. In the courtyard, a figured frieze in bronze, 25 feet long and 6 feet high, by the Scottish sculptor Alexander Stoddart (Figure 7.3), presents an allegory of Modernist versus traditional values from Homer to the present day.⁵

Another building by Adam is Delaford Park in Buckinghamshire (1980), with a trabeated Greek grid recalling Schinkel. In fact it is a conjuring trick because it is a transformation of a typically ugly Modernist house of the 1960s. Adam's superb Ashley Park, Hampshire, of 2001–2005, echoes Schinkel and Alexander 'Greek' Thompson, the nineteenth-century Glasgow architect. Adam contrives to incorporate an astonishingly large area of glass in this fully classical building in which the Corinthian order is a simplified version of that of the Tower of the Winds in Athens of c.40 BC.⁶

The Infirmary of 2008 by Quinlan and Francis Terry, next to Christopher Wren's Royal Hospital, Chelsea, shows how classical friezes and panels are ideal for inscriptions about which Modernist architecture is always hopeless.⁷ George Saumarez Smith, trained in the office of Quinlan Terry and now a partner in Robert Adam's practice, built in 2010–2011 an impressive gallery for a



Figure 7.2 Robert Adam, Sackler Library, entrance

Source: Photograph by N. Momigliano

London art dealer in Bond Street.⁸ Of Portland stone with a bronze shop front, its façade is a subtle trabeated grid with the incised pilasters of John Soane framing three bas reliefs by Alexander Stoddart, a brilliant classical sculptor who is playing a major role in current British Hellenomania. An allegory of twentieth-century art drawn from the prophecy given to Odysseus by the blind prophet Teiresias, these are a perfect example of the Grecian integration of architecture and sculpture, recalling Cockerell's belief that sculpture is the voice of architecture. The building also shows how classical architecture is rooted in imitation which does not prevent innovation, but adds layers of resonance. For me an ancient Greek or Roman building is not by reason of its date more interesting than a modern classical one. I am thus opposed to archaeologists for whom a building is more interesting the older it is, a view I challenged in my recent book on the Forum in Rome.⁹



Figure 7.3 Stoddart's bronze frieze, Sackler Library

Source: Photograph by N. Momigliano

Quinlan and Francis Terry also built the Maitland Robinson Library at Downing College (Figure 7.4), Cambridge, in 1989, its Greek Doric portico sporting richly carved acroteria, while the seven metopes in its frieze are carved with symbols devised by the Fellows of Downing to reflect the subjects taught and studied in the college.¹⁰ With its Greek Doric order this portico echoes the unexecuted design of 1806 for the entrance gateway to Downing College by the Greek Revival architect and archaeologist, William Wilkins, which had in turn been inspired by (though it is not a copy of) the Propylaea in Athens. Quinlan Terry's Library similarly does not copy Wilkins's design, though, like Wilkins, he had studied the gate into the Roman Agora at Athens, built at the start of the first century AD by the emperor Augustus, 'inventor of the Greek Revival'. The anachronistic Greek Doric order was chosen for this gate in Athens on grounds of environmental propriety and probably would not have been chosen for a building in Rome at this date.

The octagonal tower over the staircase at the Maitland Robinson Library is inspired by the Tower of the Winds in Athens, while the west side of the Library echoes the Choragic Monument of Thrasyllus, formerly on the side of the Athenian Acropolis.¹¹ Quinlan and Francis Terry's Regency Villa of 2002

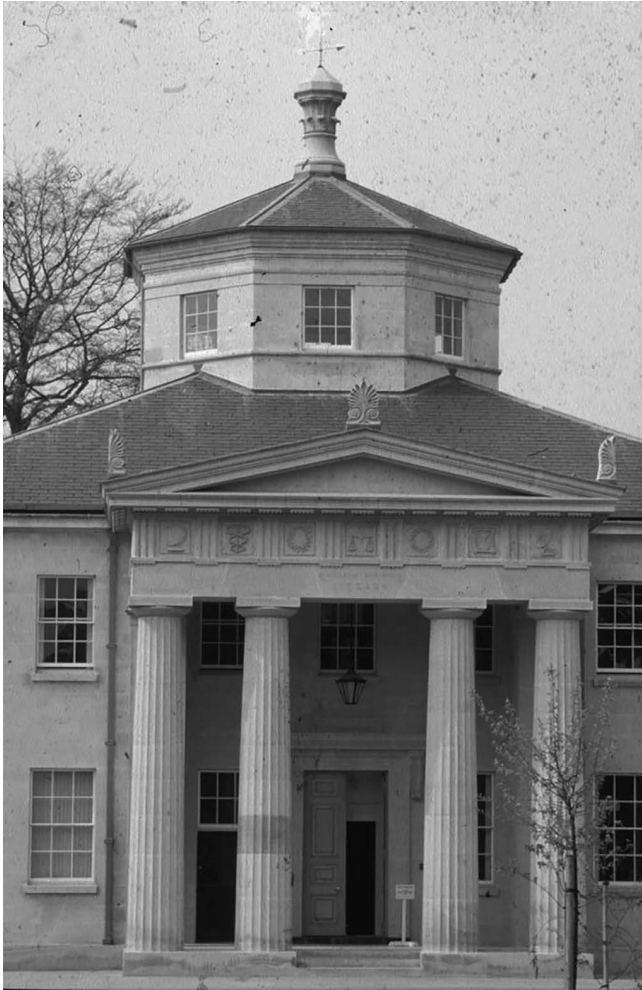


Figure 7.4 Quinlan and Francis Terry, Greek Doric portico Maitland Robinson Library at Downing College, Cambridge

Source: Photograph by D. Watkin

in Regent's Park, London, is in the Greek Doric order with figure sculpture in the metopes designed by Quinlan's son and partner, Francis, who based it on Hellenistic sculpture in the British Museum.¹²

The bath house at Williamstrip Park, Gloucestershire, of 2013, by Craig Hamilton¹³ has on the side elevations Doric columns with fluting only at the top and bottom of the shafts, perhaps inspired by the Temple of Hephaestus at Agrigento, but more likely by the so-called temple of Apollo at

Delos which Cockerell had adopted at Oakly Park, Shropshire, in 1819. The capitals on the entrance front of the Williamstrip bath house owe much to those with strikingly curved volutes at Bassae, but are doubled to resemble eyes watching us and ears listening to us, an effect hinted at in proto-Ionic capitals as at Neandria. Stoddart designed a tripartite frieze behind these columns, depicting gods connected with water, appropriate for this elaborate bath house, including Aphrodite in the centre, Oceanus and Tethys on the right, and Poseidon and Amphitrite on the left. The drawing room by Craig Hamilton in his own house at Cowed Mawr in Wales has Erechtheion Ionic columns and an amazing chimney-piece sporting large rams' heads, recalling a sacrifice to the gods yet close to the real rams outside, as the house is surrounded by farmland in the Welsh Hills.¹⁴ As with the relationship between Ictinus and Phidias, Craig Hamilton always works in cooperation with Stoddart, whose sculpture enriches Hamilton's chapel at Culham, Berkshire, 2014.

John Simpson's choice to model his 1998 Dining Room at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge (Figure 7.5), on the temple of Apollo Epicurius at Bassae was also a tribute to Cockerell, who in addition to helping excavate the temple had echoed elements of it in the wing of his University Library adjacent to the College, built in 1837–1840.¹⁵ (Caius bought this from the University in 1988 for use as its own library.) Cockerell's discoveries in Greece as a young man included the startling one that the temple at Bassae broke the rules, which, it was then thought, Greek architects followed, that is that columns should be free-standing and load-bearing, not decorative. By contrast, the Bassae interior has a moulded wall mass, supposed to be a Roman characteristic, since its columns are the rounded ends of spur walls, creating a proto-Baroque flavour, as do their uniquely flared bases and volutes. At the end was a single, free-standing Corinthian column, perhaps the earliest example of an order which became the favourite of the Romans. Its position in the centre broke with the usual Greek practice of leaving that position void, though an exception can be seen in the Choragic Monument of Thrasyllus on the Athenian Acropolis.

For his recreation of this interior Simpson drew on the paper reconstruction Cockerell had provided in 1860.¹⁶ He based his design of the now-lost Corinthian capital on Cockerell's reconstruction, though the polychromy which he applied to it is his invention, not an archaeological exercise. For the first time at Bassae, a frieze of continuous sculpture surrounded the interior of the cella, probably to show the whole frieze at once, instead of in short sections as at the Parthenon. In 1997 Simpson acquired casts of the frieze for his Dining Room from the British Museum, where the frieze has been housed since Cockerell arranged for its purchase in 1815. Simpson also designed furniture for this room, including chairs with Greek klismos legs.

Also by Simpson is the Queen's Gallery at Buckingham Palace of 2002, built to celebrate her fifty years on the throne (Figure 7.6).¹⁷ Its awkward site echoes



Figure 7.5 John Simpson Gonville and Caius College at Cambridge, Dining Room inspired by the cella of the Temple of Apollo Epicurius at Bassae

Source: Photograph by D. Watkin

that of the Erechtheion on the Acropolis, which similarly has an almost jumbled grouping which surprised Vitruvius who said that 'all the elements that are usually on the fronts are transferred to the sides'.¹⁸ Simpson's design refers to many previous buildings, including the Greek Doric porticos at Buckingham



Figure 7.6 John Simpson Queen's Gallery at Buckingham Palace

Source: Wikipedia—www.wikiwand.com/en/Queen's_Gallery

Palace by John Nash in the 1820s, and the Erechtheion's near neighbour, the Greek Doric Propylaea, gateway to the Acropolis in Athens and the first picture gallery of which we know.

Simpson's portico plays a game with the Doric order by throwing up the triglyphs from the frieze to form two tall brackets to support the raking cornices of the pediment, which is otherwise open and empty. Such games with the rules of the orders are meaningless unless you know the rules in the first place. The swelling columns echo the Temple of Hera I at Paestum of c.550 BC. In the open roof of the portico, oak beams recall the origin of temples in timber construction as claimed by Vitruvius (*De Architectura* IV.2), rightly or wrongly. On Simpson's garden front an arch breaks into the entablature, inspired by a small free-standing building in the precinct of the Temple of Isis at Pompeii, of which Simpson made measured drawings on site. The unusual floral ornament of the engaged Greek Doric columns and antae came from the peristyle of the precinct of this Temple.

In the entrance hall of the Gallery are two figures by Stoddart, a sculptor who, as has been already noted, is a major player in current British Hellenomania, joining Simpson, Adam, Saumarez Smith, and Hamilton in their admiration of Cockerell. A brilliant classical sculptor in the tradition of Canova, Stoddart is also steeped in Greek mythology, philosophy, and literature. This enables him to incorporate complex symbolic narratives in the

works noted above. In Simpson's Queen's Gallery, Stoddart's winged genii holding torches are inspired by those Homer described in the *Odyssey* (VII, 82–100) as adorning the Palace of Alcinous in one of the first descriptions of a building in our literature. In Simpson's entrance hall they surmount Paestum Doric columns. Stoddart's two sculptured friezes, nearly 70 feet long, representing Concord and Discord in the Queen's fifty-year reign, have themes drawn from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The columns have the beautiful floral capitals of the temple of Hera I at Paestum, which have nine different patterns in fine relief of leaves, palmettes, lotus flowers, or rosettes. Oddly, these capitals have rarely been imitated, perhaps because they have a prettiness which eighteenth- and nineteenth-century classical architects did not want to find in ancient Greek architecture. Simpson's staircase, approached from the entrance hall, has exquisite Grecian cast iron balusters.

Stoddart's work is paralleled in the numerous superb books by Ian Jenkins of the British Museum, notably, *Greek Architecture and its Sculpture* (2006), while growing interest in what we can learn by studying ancient architecture afresh has also led to *Origins of Classical Architecture: Temples, Orders and Gifts to the Gods in Ancient Greece* (2014) by Mark Wilson Jones, from which much can be learned of that fertility of invention in mass and detail mentioned in my 'Conclusion' below. Wilson Jones has also published *Principles of Roman Architecture* (2000), while John Stamper, author of *The Architecture of Roman Temples: The Republic to the Middle Empire* (2005), teaches at the School of Architecture at the University of Notre Dame, USA. This is the only school of architecture which trains its students in the practice, rather than merely the history, of classical and traditional architecture. Through this School, Richard H. Driehaus has given from 2003 an annual prize to a classical and traditional architect. Its winners have included Léon Krier, Quinlan Terry, and the American architects Allan Greenberg, Jaquelin Robertson, Robert Stern, and Thomas Beeby—the classical revival being far stronger in the USA than in Europe. The School is about to build new premises for itself from designs by Simpson, who won the competition for it in 2014. His earliest sketches suggest a Benedictine monastery or college with classical buildings grouped irregularly round a garden courtyard.

Another educational project Simpson has realised is the new quadrangle at Eton College, Bekynton Field, completed in 2015, which has elements derived from a range of Greek, Hellenistic, and Roman sources. These have a relevance in this great school, which is well known for its teaching of the Classics and its accompanying stress on the study of rhetoric, so vital to Greek and Roman culture yet regrettably ignored in modern schools and universities. Simpson's quadrangle is recorded in a composite painting by Carl Laubin showing it in salami slices.¹⁹ At the bottom in the foreground are the footings for its south entrance front, shown along the top of the painting. On the far left, flanked by two glazed colonnades, is the semi-circular entrance front of a gallery for Egyptian art and sculpture of which Eton has the largest collection

in private hands but which has never been brought together before. The space also serves as a theatre lobby and is shown in section bottom left. Along the middle of the painting is the elevation of the west range of the quad where the Theatre or Assembly Hall with a green copper roof is a seriously tall and commanding building. It is based on the Ekklesiasterion, or Assembly Hall of c.200 BC at the Hellenistic city of Priene which has an unusual semi-circular window.

The side entrance portico to the Egyptian gallery has columns, which are appropriately in the order of the Temple of Isis, the Egyptian goddess, at Pompeii. The Department of Modern Languages has a long arcade or stoa, its columns with ambitious, two-tiered capitals with acanthus leaves below palmettes, owing something to the porch capitals of the Tower of the Winds. The rusticated entrance archway, set back at its south end, is, by contrast, in the order of the extraordinary Throne of Apollo at Amyklai, near Sparta, of c.510 BC, by the inventive architect, Bathykles of Magnesia in Asia Minor. Its unique Late Archaic capitals are half Doric, half Ionic, a sort of bi-sexual order which some archaeologists think might have become sufficiently popular at an early



Figure 7.7 Carl Laubin, *Professor Watkin's Capriccio* (2008)

Source: Photograph by D. Watkin

period to have prevented the separation of Doric and Ionic, but imitated for the first time in this archway at Eton.

In the quadrangle is a fountain designed by Stoddart, its water serving to cool the air in the Theatre behind it. The long south range houses in its eastern half the Department of Philosophy and Theology, and in the western half the Department of Economics and Politics. This leads at its west end to an open air debating space so boys can come straight out to speak or debate on topics such as economics and politics. Eton is one of the few places to encourage the lost Greek art of rhetoric, so boys can also debate and speak in public in the Priene-inspired Ekklesiasterion or Assembly Hall, to the north which can be approached through the Egyptian Gallery. In the square theatre the seating arrangement is based on that at Priene; before the speaker's area is a small stone altar which Simpson has cunningly transformed into a lectern. With its inventive use of the classical language, Simpson's Beckynton Field can be seen as liberal education in itself for boys and masters.

Léon Krier designed an ideal city of Atlantis, which Carl Laubin brilliantly realised in a painting after the manner of Claude, a visionary image of antiquity, of what we have lost.²⁰ Laubin also painted *Professor Watkin's Capriccio* (2008) (Figure 7.7), incorporating recent buildings and designs by architects close to me.²¹ They include Krier's Atlantis, Adam's Ashley Park, Quinlan Terry's Baker Street, Simpson's Queen's Gallery and his interiors at Gonville and Caius College, and details from the Temple of Apollo at Bassae.

Conclusion

How far can we see a significant wave of Hellenomania in current British architecture and sculpture? Those who lead it may be relatively small in number but are designers of enormous distinction and conviction, all sharing a respect for environment and context in reaction to the many decades of dominance by the Modernist doctrine of complete rejection of the past, particularly the classical past. It was surely inevitable that one day there would be a reaction against so narrow and restrictive an approach, the only surprise being that it did not come sooner. When architects finally returned to a belief that they could actually learn from and be inspired by the past, they naturally looked to the origins in ancient Greece of the classical language of architecture and sculpture, philosophy, drama, democracy, to go no further. In this process they discovered how much there is to learn about ancient architecture, its fertility of invention, novelty, and adaptability. This was summed up by Robert Adam, when in a recent lecture about what he learned every day about ancient classical architecture, he declared, 'it's wild out there!'.

I was a PhD pupil of Sir Nikolaus Pevsner who would have been shocked by the current classical revival, for his idea of European civilisation excluded antiquity, claiming in the foreword of his influential book, *Outline of European Architecture*, first published in 1942, that 'The Greek temple, most readers probably agree, and the Roman forum, belong to the civilisation of Antiquity, not to what we usually mean when we speak of European civilisation'. I cannot agree, hence my book on the Forum in Rome and my preference for Cicero, who in *De oratore* so admired classical architecture that he said there will be pediments in heaven, even though the absence of rain means there is no need for them functionally.²² In other words, he understood that architecture is not truth but beauty.

Notes

- 1 Robert Tavernor (2009) xix noted that 'Vitruvius' written account—or canon—of human proportions is probably also an echo or parallel of an ancient composition by the Greek sculptor Polyclitus of Sicyon (or Agos), who had canonised the proportions of his sculpture the Doryphorus (the Spear Bearer) in the fifth century BC'. Nigel Spivey (1997) 197 also notes the links between Polyclitus and Vitruvius. Cf. also Rickvert (1996), 128: 'the close association between the body and the column especially was a staple of literary metaphor'.
- 2 Jenkins (2006) 16–18.
- 3 See Boatwright (2000) *passim*.
- 4 Watkin (2007) *passim*.
- 5 John (2010) 221–31.
- 6 *Ibid.* 76–9 and 121–9.
- 7 See Watkin (2015).
- 8 See Saumarez Smith (2013) 36–45.
- 9 Watkin (2011).
- 10 Watkin (2006) 218–30.
- 11 Destroyed in 1826, the Choragic Monument of Thrasyllus was rebuilt in 2014.
- 12 Watkin (2006) 62–3 and 110–11.
- 13 On Williamstrip Park, see Building Design (23 January and 21 February 2013, available at www.bdonline.co.uk/williamstrip-bath-house-gloucestershire-by-craig-hamilton-architects/5049101.article) and Dowling (2013) 314–23.
- 14 See Robinson (2010) and Dowling (2013) 324–9.
- 15 John and Watkin (2002) 68–76.
- 16 Cockerell (1860).
- 17 John and Watkin (2002) 16–50.
- 18 Vitruvius, *De architectura*, IV, 8, 4 (cf. Vitruvius 2009) did not single out the Erechtheion by name, but included this comment in the section on the 'Circular Temples and Other Varieties'.

- 19 See Watkin (2016). Laubin's painting can be seen at: www.johnsimpsonarchitects.com/i/ap/Eton-College-02-New-Quadrangle-Painting-By-Carl-Laubin-John-Simpson-Architects.png (consulted September 2016).
- 20 See Taylor and Watkin (2007) 41, 166 (plates).
- 21 For a detailed analysis of this painting, see Watkin (2014) 145–9 (plate on 146).
- 22 Cicero, *De Oratore*, III, 179–80.

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PART 3

Hellenomania comes to
life—colour, movement,
and the body



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From Galatea to Tanagra: Victorian translations of the controversial colours of Greek sculpture

Charlotte Ribeyrol

In 1890 Jean-Léon Gérôme painted *Le Travail du Marbre* (*Working in Marble*)¹ (Figure 8.1), a self-portrait, which represents the artist contrasting one of his own statues with the rosy flesh of the live model. Gérôme, who was both a painter and a sculptor, was indeed an active chromophile, a staunch supporter of the aesthetic value of tinted statues, which he himself emulated by recreating in 1890 an aggrandised coloured *Tanagra*. This very same *Tanagra*, which would be long shunned by French museums because of its controversial colouring, features at the very centre of the composition of *Le Travail du Marbre*, which, as Edouart Papet put it, functions as an ‘obsessional mise en abyme’² of Gérôme at work, prefiguring another self-portrait of 1902: *Autoportrait peignant la joueuse de boules* (*Self-portrait painting the ball player*).³ In these two paintings the sculpture is displayed in its unfinished state,⁴ before it is coloured.⁵ Colourless, the sculpture cannot match the sensual fleshliness of the model. Static, it also lacks the dynamism of the tinted hoop dancer situated on the right-hand side in *Le Travail du Marbre*, which recalls both the small figurine that *Tanagra* holds in her hand in the sculpted version and the series of coloured statuettes included in Gérôme’s 1893 painting *Sculpturae Vitam Insufflat Pictura*.⁶

Le Travail du Marbre has often been analysed as a reflection on either the collaboration or the rivalry⁷ between painting and sculpture. However, another type of artistic synthesis seems at work here with the discreet inter-pictorial and intertextual reference to the myth of Pygmalion suggested by the small painting included in the background, which represents Pygmalion and Galatea embracing—another of Gérôme’s works of 1890.⁸ The dramatic curve of Galatea’s body as she leans from her pedestal to kiss her creator is emphasised by the use of transitional colour, as the desiring ivory or marble body is progressively infused with life and blood. Like *Pygmalion et Galatée* and *Tanagra*, *Le Travail du Marbre* appears as a pictorial, poetic and sculptural reflection on the complex relation between life and art, model and artistic representation, envisaged from a *material* rather than strictly metaphorical point of view, thanks to the explicit reference to sculptural polychromy, a practice considered controversial, barbaric, or even primitive by

many nineteenth-century artists and art critics, heirs to Winckelmannian chromophobia.⁹ On the contrary, Gérôme expressed his distrust for the neoclassical 'coldness of statues'¹⁰ in favour of the warmth of colour and desire, so as to provocatively highlight both the erotic potential of his pictorial and sculptural work as well as his desire to 'resuscitate'¹¹ ancient art.

The late nineteenth-century paintings and literary texts that will be analysed in this chapter may not link as explicitly the Pygmalion myth and the colours of the Tanagras which created a craze throughout Europe in the 1870s and 1880s. However, a similar erotic vein can be felt in the works of certain late Victorian artists and poets, whose understanding of the Ovidian myth or of its variations was also partly shaped by their provocative embracing of sculptural polychromy. From the late 1860s to the 1890s, a paradigmatic shift indeed occurred in the understanding of classical art thanks to the emergence of the new sciences of archaeology and anthropology which broke away from the philological tradition in favour of a more material approach to antiquity. The pictorial and literary works I will focus on chromatically reflect this important transition from texts to coloured images, from the Apollonian to the Dionysian, from the masculine heroism of Aeschylus's plays or of certain neoclassical statues to the more feminine and intimate art of Tanagra.

In a word, rather than discussing the multi-faceted relationships between artist and model which partly explain the ongoing popularity of the Ovidian story in nineteenth-century England,¹² I will try and show how the Victorian reception of Greek polychromy and in particular of Tanagra figurines may have shed a new light on the translation processes at work in the Pygmalion myth. By translation, I do not mean only the linguistic passage from one language (be it Latin or Greek) to English, but also the intermedial process of shifting from text to image, and from one type of image (sculpture) to another (painting). As suggested by Lorna Hardwick,¹³ such translatory practices lead us to revise the linear model on which most of the classical tradition was then based in favour of relations of hybridity, implying either reverence or subversion, appropriation, or foreignisation.

'Consummate fleshly sculpture': the erotic potential of colour

With Galatea and Tanagra, both processes seem to be at work. This is perfectly exemplified by G. F. Watts's *Wife of Pygmalion*¹⁴ (1868) which is a portrayal of Pygmalion's statue turned into a fleshly nude (Figure 8.2). This half-length portrait is reminiscent of Dante Gabriel Rossetti's Venetian beauties such as *Bocca Baciata* (1859) or *Venus Verticordia* (1864–1868) which equally disrupt sculptural canons in favour of sensual colours. Interestingly, Watts's painting was subtitled 'A translation from the Greek'—a rather misleading title as no surviving Hellenic text relates the story of the Cyprian sculptor. The translation is clearly of an intermedial type, a pictorial translation of a sculptural

model, that of an Oxford bust. This bust, of which Watts had acquired a cast, was part of the Arundel Marbles collection which the painter had discovered when visiting the Ashmolean with Sir Charles Newton.¹⁵ Watts associated this Oxford bust with the perfection of Phidias's art.¹⁶ Drawing on the sculpture as his model, he painted the *Wife of Pygmalion* for the same Academy exhibition at which his own marble bust, entitled *Clytie*, was presented. Like Gérôme, Watts never saw any contradiction in associating painting and sculpture, since he believed Phidias—his chief artistic model—to be 'eminently pictorial'.¹⁷ According to Ian Jenkins, 'Watts had been drawn directly into the polychromy issue in the early 1860s when Newton published the fact of his having found traces of colour on the sculptures from Halicarnassus'¹⁸ which the painter had also discovered in the company of the archaeologist in 1856. Watts explained that his aim in sculpture was 'to get flexibility, impression of colour, and largeness of character, rather than purity and gravity'.¹⁹ As noted by Mark Bills and Barbara Bryant, 'Watts's reference to Clytie's "impression of colour" alludes to textural variations in chiselling to enliven the marble surface, a quality that he identifies with Phidias. He believed that Phidias used actual polychromy in his sculpture but that "his method of suggesting difference of texture and colour (by means of his chisel alone) would certainly go far to render colour unnecessary"'.²⁰ Both the movement of the bust and the colours of the painting suggest that the female figure is made of flesh and blood.²¹ Therefore, what *The Wife of Pygmalion's* and *Clytie's* metamorphoses and 'translations' also reveal is that Watts was trying to move away from a purely philological approach to the classical canon in favour of a more material understanding of Hellenic artistic culture. He succeeded in this aesthetic endeavour by partly discarding the ideal of Hellenic 'sweetness and light' which Matthew Arnold set so high that very same year in *Culture and Anarchy*, in favour of more fleshly and subversive colours which were no longer compatible with such a pristine Greek ideal.²² Watts, who was close to Pre-Raphaelite and Aesthetic circles, knew of the collaborations of painters and sculptors in Antiquity which the art critic William Michael Rossetti extolled, by quoting for instance the following anecdote (taken from Pliny) on the painter Nicias and the sculptor Praxiteles: 'Speaking of Nicias, when asked which of his marble works best satisfied him, (Praxiteles) replied "Those which Nicias had under his hands"'.²³

It was with this collaborative ideal in mind that the poet Algernon Charles Swinburne interpreted Watts's painting in his 'Notes on Some Pictures of 1868'. In the following passage the poet also refers to *Clytie* and again colour features in prominent place:

The soft severity of perfect beauty might serve alike for woman or statue, flesh or marble; but the eyes have opened already upon love, with a tender and grave wonder; her curving ripples of hair seem just warm from the touch and breath of the goddess, moulded and quickened by hands diviner than

her sculptor's. So it seems a Greek painter must have painted women, when Greece had mortal pictures fit to match her imperishable statues. [...] In this 'translation' of a Greek statue into an English picture, no less than in the bust of Clytie, we see how in the hands of a great artist painting and sculpture may become as sister arts indeed, yet without invasion or confusion; how, without any forced alliance of form and colour, a picture may share the gracious grandeur of a statue, a statue may catch something of the subtle bloom proper to a picture.²⁴

As shown by the use of the present tense and -ing forms in this quotation, Swinburne was particularly drawn to statues coming to life, to 'consummate fleshly sculpture',²⁵ an expression he used in his enthusiastic review of his friend D. G. Rossetti's 1871 volume of poetry. But this rather oxymoronic formulation could also be applied to Swinburne's own ekphrastic poem entitled 'Hermaphroditus' which is in many ways a subversion of the Pygmalion myth, as the poetic persona dreams of waking up the androgynous marble figure which he had seen in the Louvre.²⁶

A controversial classicist, Swinburne was very much aware of the erotic potentialities offered by Greek colours. Most of his Venuses are therefore provocatively tinted or rather tainted, like the exiled Pagan divinity in 'Laus Veneris', illustrated by a flamboyant and colourful painting by Burne-Jones:²⁷

Asleep or waking is it? for her neck,
Kissed over close, wears yet a purple speck
Wherein the pained blood falters and goes out;
Soft, and stung softly—fairer for a fleck.²⁸

This chromatic and erotic association appears as an original 'red sin' (l.205), as the poet was fond of recalling the cruel birth of Aphrodite from the castration of Ouranos, an episode which he alluded to in several of his poems and in his Greek play 'Atalanta in Calydon':

For an evil blossom was born
Of sea-foam and the frothing of blood,
Blood-red and bitter of fruit,
And the seed of it laughter and tears,
And the leaves of it madness and scorn;
A bitter flower from the bud,
Sprung of the sea without root,
Sprung without graft from the year.²⁹

It was this type of erotic imagery which spurred the critic Robert Buchanan to stigmatise both Swinburne and D. G. Rossetti as the main representatives of a reviled 'fleshly school of poetry' to quote the title of his scathing review published in 1871. Like many of his prudish contemporaries, Buchanan believed

that Swinburne's scandalous poetry had nothing to do with the pristine perfection of the sacred Hellenic heritage but had rather stemmed from 'Holywell street',³⁰ the haunt of London prostitutes like Rossetti's 'Jenny', 'painted with face red' (l.144) in the manner of the pagan Venuses described in Swinburne's poem 'St Dorothy'.

Colour in Swinburne's poetry is often associated with cruel desire, subverting ideal nudity in favour of more alluring 'shameless nakedness'.³¹ This tension between the nude and the naked, between idealism and realism was also what made many art critics so uncomfortable with the use of sculptural polychromy as shown by this passage from the *Art Journal* describing John Gibson's *Tinted Venus* (1862): 'We consider the adjunct of colour [. . .] as a departure from the original high purpose of sculpture, which never aimed at more than an abstract type of the subject represented in form and expression; its end being to idealise rather than to realise'.³² The proto Aesthete³³ Gibson was indeed a strong advocate of 'Polychromy' (which he always spelt with a capital P):

When all my long labour was complete, I often sat down in quiet before my work, meditating upon it and consulting my own simple feelings. I endeavoured to keep myself free from self-delusion as to the effect of the colouring, which I put to the test of reason. I said to myself: 'Here is a little nearer approach to life, therefore more impressive—yes, yes, indeed she seems an ethereal being with her blue eyes looking upon me'. I forgot at moments that I was gazing at my own production. There sat I before her long and often. How can I ever part with her! I am convinced that the Greek taste was right in colouring their sculpture—the warm glow is most agreeable to the feeling, and so is the variety obtained by it. The flesh is one tone, the hair another, the colouring of the eyes gives animation, and the drapery has its colour and all the ornaments are distinctly seen—all these are great advantages.³⁴

Although a rather enthusiastic Wincklemann reader, Gibson distrusted the whiteness of neoclassical sculpture: 'the flesh is white, the hair is white, the eyes are white and the drapery white; this monotonous cold object of art is out of harmony with everything which surrounds it'.³⁵ Again, the coldness of marble is strikingly contrasted with the warmth of colour, recalling the transformation of Galatea's ivory body into living flesh. Another contemporary sculptor (and poet) Thomas Woolner (who had been a member of the original Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood) even went as far as to give a cruel twist to this story by imagining a mad Pygmalion trying to give life to his creation by mixing blood and clay.³⁶ This sadistic impulse is partly reminiscent of the poetry of Swinburne who certainly knew Woolner's verse as it was strongly recommended to him by his former Greek tutor at Oxford, Benjamin Jowett.³⁷

'Hermione Melts From her Stony Posture': The Renaissance of Greek Art

But beyond this erotic appeal, many late Victorian artists and poets were also interested in chromatic variations on the Pygmalion myth so as to suggest a renaissance of Greek artistic practice. Swinburne, who believed sculpture a 'dead'³⁸ art, thus unearthed the controversial colours of a chthonian antiquity to give life back to the Hellenic world. In 'At Eleusis', one of his Persephone poems (which would be praised by late nineteenth-century archaeologists and classicists like Andrew Lang or Jane Ellen Harrison), he describes Demeter as a *poietès*, a maker and a creator:

For of all other gods is none save me
Clothed with like power to build and break the year.
I make the lesser green begin, when spring
Touches not earth but with one fearful foot;
And as a careful gilder with great art
Soberly colours and completes the face,
Mouth, chin and all, of some sweet work in stone,
I carve the shapes of grass and tender corn
And colour the ripe edges and long spikes
With the red increase and the grace of gold.
No tradesman in soft wools is cunninger
To kill the secret of the fat white fleece
With stains of blue and purple wrought in it.³⁹

Such colouring processes are everywhere at work in *Poems & Ballads, First Series* (1866) in which colour adjectives compounded with the past participle 'coloured' appear on numerous occasions. A similar insistence on the temporal dimension of colouring can equally be found in the two versions of Burne-Jones's *Pygmalion and the Image* inspired by a poem by William Morris but painted partly under the influence of Swinburne, who was a close friend of the artist. Here the Ovidian story is decomposed into four separate panels, which translate chromatically the metamorphosis of Galatea under the aegis of Aphrodite, both figures being modelled on Maria Zambaco, the artist's Greek mistress.⁴⁰ Since 1865, the year he painted *The Lament*, Burne-Jones had indeed started to emulate Greek sculpture, in particular the Elgin Marbles, which had been originally polychrome, as shown by Alma-Tadema's famous reconstitution of the frieze in 1868.⁴¹ In an early essay Oscar Wilde criticised these supposedly accurate vivid colours which he believed too gaudy: 'The sombre colouring is un-Greek', he explained, claiming that the marble would have been merely 'tinted with flesh colour',⁴² in keeping with the muted tones of Burne-Jones's fleshly nudes.

The extent of the colouring of Greek sculpture was still very much a polemical subject at the time, as shown by the ambiguous reception of the architect

Owen Jones's 'Apology for the colouring of Greek court' of the Crystal Palace in 1854,⁴³ a project which inspired Alma-Tadema's reconstitution. Jones, who had been a close collaborator of Jacques Ignace Hittorff and Gottfried Semper, was a great chromophile. He even designed the polychrome temple for Gibson's *Tinted Venus* at the International Exhibition of 1862.⁴⁴ But Jones was also a well-known illustrator, who, like Hittorff in his *Restitution du temple d'Empédocle à Sélinonte ou l'Architecture polychrome chez les Grecs* (1851), used the new device of chromolithography to familiarise his Victorian readers with the dazzling colours of the past (whether Egyptian, Greek, or Gothic) which he longed to revive. This is perfectly highlighted in his *Scenes from the Winter's Tale* published in 1866. This lavishly illustrated book is composed of a selection of emphatically visual scenes taken from Shakespeare's play. As in another of his books, inspired by one of the most colourful stories of the Ancient testament, that of Joseph's multi-coloured coat in Genesis 37, the iconography as well as the ornamental frame of each plate are reminiscent of Greek vases and Egyptian art. One key passage from the play which Jones chose to illustrate is that of the coming to life of the statue of Hermione in Act V, scene 3, which is a variation on the metamorphosis of Galatea in the Pygmalion myth. The text, as well as the image, emphasise the importance of this transitory moment (Figure 8.3):

Leontes: Her natural posture ! Chide me dear stone: that I may say, indeed, thou art Hermione, or rather, thou art she, In thy not chiding: for she was as tender, as infancy, and grace.

The Aesthetic critic Walter Pater may have been thinking of Jones's illustration of Shakespeare's play when he wrote the following lines in his 1867 essay on Winckelmann, later included in his collection on the Renaissance:

Filled as our culture is with the classical spirit, we can hardly imagine how deeply the human mind was moved, when, at the Renaissance, in the midst of a frozen world, the buried fire of ancient art rose up from under the soil. Winckelmann here reproduces for us the earlier sentiment of the Renaissance. On a sudden the imagination feels itself free. How facile and direct, it seems to say, is this life of the senses and the understanding, when once we have apprehended it! Here, surely, is that more liberal mode of life we have been seeking so long, so near to us all the while. [. . .] Hermione melts from her stony posture, and the lost proportions of life right themselves.⁴⁵

Pater's attitude towards sculptural polychromy was more than ambiguous, as he wavered between praise of the flawlessness of colourless⁴⁶ marble (in 'Winckelmann') and the dazzling beauty of Asiatic 'poikilia'⁴⁷ (in his *Greek Studies*), claiming that 'Greek sculpture could not have been a cold thing [. . .] whatever a colour-blind school may say'.⁴⁸ As underlined by Iain Ross, similar 'shifts and inconsistencies' can also be found in Wilde's work 'and everyone

committed to the idealism embodied by Greek sculpture (and) trying to bring new evidence about early Greek artistic practice into conformity with long established aesthetic theory'.⁴⁹

'Tanagras in action': from sculpture to dance

The discovery in the early 1870s of numerous Tanagra statuettes from Boeotia and other Hellenic sites⁵⁰ certainly provided such new evidence about Greek artistic practice. These Hellenistic terracottas, mostly representing female draped figures, appeared on the art market around 1872. The delicate curves of some of these small dancers (such as the *Danseuse Titeux*)⁵¹ were often emphasised by traces of faint colour, mainly Egyptian blue, gold, or cinnabar⁵² (as in *La Dame en Bleu*).⁵³ If the stir which these statuettes caused in French artistic circles has already attracted much critical attention, very little has been written on the Victorian reception of the figurines, although some major artists of that period, including Albert Moore, James McNeill Whistler, and Alma-Tadema clearly acknowledged their aesthetic debt to these archaeological finds.

In the case of Alma-Tadema, who was a professed archaeological painter, the influence is quite obvious. He had visited on numerous occasions the Greek rooms of the British Museum where these statuettes were displayed and included very similar draped figures in some of his paintings dating back to the 1870s, such as *Fishing*.⁵⁴ Alma-Tadema's aim in most of his classical works was clearly to revive the classical past, notably the wealth of its material culture in order to offer a fascinating Hellenic or Roman mirror to his Victorian contemporaries. Although he was not a sculptor like Gérôme (whom he met in 1863), he admired the French artist's sculptural endeavours and even paid homage to the small dancing figurine in the hand of Tanagra in his own painting *The Golden Hour* (1908).⁵⁵ The play on colours, complexion, materials, and textures is central to the composition of this work.

However distrustful of Alma-Tadema's gaudy style, Wilde referred extensively in his own works to these Tanagra figures, for instance in 'The Critic as Artist' (1891):

In those days the artist was free. From the river valley he took the fine clay in his fingers, and with a little tool of wood or bone, fashioned it into forms so exquisite that the people gave them to the dead as their playthings, and we find them still in the dusty tombs on the yellow hillside by Tanagra, with the faint gold and the fading crimson still lingering about hair and lips and raiment. [. . .] Through form and colour he re-created a world.⁵⁶

The reference to the statuettes here enables Wilde to make a powerful statement about the status of the artist in antiquity. In spite of the funereal setting in which most of these statuettes were found, the traces of polychromy described through the use of -ing forms ('fading', 'lingering') testify to the



Figure 8.1 Jean-Léon Gérôme, *Le Travail du Marbre* (1890)

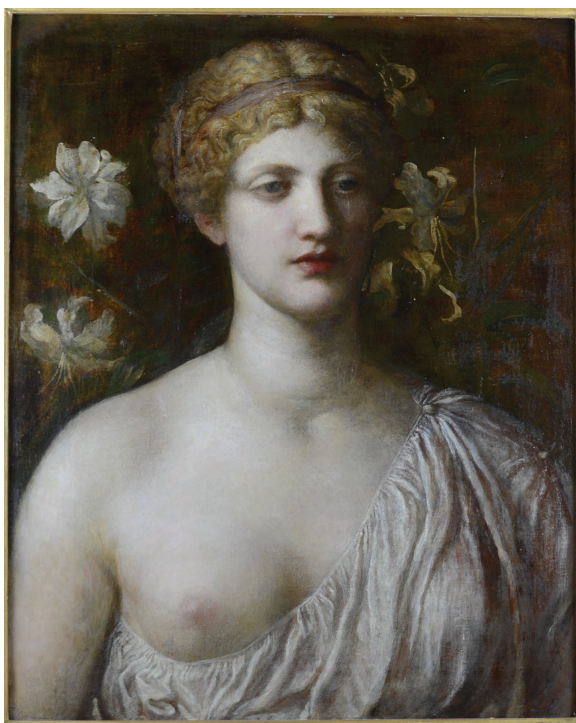


Figure 8.2 G.F. Watts, *The Wife of Pygmalion, A translation from the Greek* (1868)



Figure 8.3 Owen Jones and Henry Warren, *Scenes from the Winter's Tale*, London: Day and Son, 1866

ongoing life of Greek art which the modern artist also aimed at 're-creating'.⁵⁷ Hellenic references are equally numerous in *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1890), which may appear as a homoerotic variation on and inversion of the Pygmalion myth as Dorian is turned into a work of art by Lord Henry. However it is Sybil, Dorian's beloved actress, who is compared to a Tanagra figurine: 'She had all the delicate grace of that Tanagra figurine that you have in your studio, Basil'.⁵⁸ This sentence shows that it was certainly common practice in Victorian artistic circles to collect original (or forged) Tanagra figurines. This was the case of the Greek patron and collector Alexander Ionides, who was a close friend of Watts, Whistler, and Moore. Inspired by Ionides's collection to which he had an easy access and of which he also possessed a photographic catalogue,⁵⁹ Whistler portrayed many draped figures reminiscent of these terracotta figurines, notably *Aphrodite Nursing Eros* which was probably a fake. Drawings such as *Tanagra statuette of a standing female figure* (1894) explicitly refer to these statuettes as well as earlier works from the 1870s and 1880s such as *The Rose Drapery* (c.1888–1895), *A Woman in a blue striped toga* (c.1871–1874) or *Rose and Silver* (1869) which Whistler's disciple Walter Sickert nicknamed *Tanagra* in 1915. Art historians have also underlined the resemblance between these Hellenistic Tanagras and some of the female figures represented in Whistler's unfinished *Six Projects*⁶⁰ (1868–1878). Given that these paintings, as well as some of Moore's floral compositions—such as *Pansies*⁶¹ (1875)—partly pre-date the Tanagramania of the late 1870s,⁶² it could almost be argued that such pictorial representations of delicately draped female figures prepared the public for the enthusiastic reception of the figurines.

These 'delicate' and 'graceful' Tanagras therefore inspired many Victorian artists in the last quarter of the century, subverting established aesthetic hierarchies. This paradigmatic shift away from neoclassical whiteness to original polychromy, from masculine antiquity to feminine intimacy and from Apollonian stillness to Menadic motion,⁶³ proved liberating for artists who wished to perpetuate the Hellenic heritage without being crushed under its artistic burden.

Interestingly, these more minor figurines were also emulated and appropriated by female artists such as the dancers Louie Fuller and Isadora Duncan whom the French sculptor Auguste Rodin compared to 'Tanagras in action'.⁶⁴ In both cases, the colour (especially for Fuller) and the movement (for Duncan)⁶⁵ of these Tanagras was both inspiring and emancipating, as the two women asserted themselves as both model and creators, without the help of any masculine Pygmalion figure. This feminine appropriation of a more intimate Hellenic material culture equally sheds light on the poem entitled 'Pygmalion'⁶⁶ by Hilda Doolittle,⁶⁷ who had seen Duncan perform on numerous occasions and who was, like the dancer, a great admirer of Burne-Jones, Rossetti, and Swinburne:

Now what is it that has come to pass?
Over my head, fire stands,
my marbles are alert.

Each of the gods, perfect,
cries out from a perfect throat:
you are useless,
no marble can bind me,
no stone suggest.

They have melted into the light
and I am desolate,
they have melted,
each from his plinth,
each one departs.

They have gone,
what agony can express my grief?

Each from his marble base
has stepped into the light
and my work is for naught. (l.38–55)

Contrary to Gérôme's imprisoned Galatea, H. D.'s unbound poetic 'marbles' 'stepped into the light', like the dancer Duncan, thus escaping their creator thanks to a new type of translation, from marmoreal to living bodies, from sculpture to dance.

Notes

- 1 Jean-Léon Gérôme, *Le Travail du Marbre* (1890), oil on canvas, Dahesh Museum of Art.
- 2 Papet (2010) 295.
- 3 J.-L. Gérôme, *Autoportrait peignant la joueuse de boules* (1902), oil on canvas, Vesoul, Musée Georges-Garret.
- 4 See Jockey (2013).
- 5 In his essay on the myth of Pygmalion in nineteenth-century art, F. Chappey relates the fate of a statue by Gérôme representing a half-coloured Galatea which disappeared after having been too actively scrubbed to look whiter. Chappey (2006) 7.
- 6 J.-L. Gérôme, *Sculpturae Vitam Insufflat Pictura* (1893) oil on canvas, Toronto, Art Gallery of Ontario.
- 7 On the engagement of Gérôme with the paragone, see for instance Lippert (2014) 104–25.
- 8 Gérôme painted several versions of the myth of Pygmalion and Galatea. The version referred to in *Le Travail du Marbre* could be that of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1890).
- 9 Wincklemann's distrust of colour was frequently discussed in the nineteenth century. However, his chromophobia is now being qualified by a number of scholars. See Primavesi (2010) 27–77.

- 10 Papet (2010) 293.
- 11 Papet (2010) 294.
- 12 See for instance Jenkyns (1991).
- 13 Hardwick (2000).
- 14 G. F. Watts, *The Wife of Pygmalion, A translation from the Greek* (1868), oil on canvas, The Faringdon Collection Trust, Buscot Park.
- 15 Watts (1913) 237–8: ‘Some years before, Sir Charles Newton and Signor had visited Oxford, to look over the Arundel Marbles. These marbles, though presented in 1624, had been left, in great part, neglected in a cellar. The object of their visit was to look over the fragments, and to pick out those which were of real worth for exhibition in the Ashmolean Museum. Signor was the discoverer here of a beautiful head severed at the neck, and unhappily without the nose. The missing parts were searched for, and they were successful in finding the bust and shoulders. It is now one of the gems of the collection. Signor ranked this bust with the best art of Greece in the time of Pheidias, but he believed that it was a portrait, because certain characteristics of the Greek ideal were lacking. For instance, the eyes were slightly prominent, which alone denoted that it was a likeness. Casts were made from the bust, and one of these always stood in his studio. The reverence in which this was held by him was so great that it inspired him to paint the transition of Galatea from marble to life’. On the friendship between Watts and Newton, see also Jenkins (1984) 178–80.
- 16 As noted by Jenkins, Watts ‘came to regard himself as a pupil of one master only, Pheidias, and he invoked the name of the Greek sculptor all his life in the manner of a devoted disciple’. Jenkins (1984) 177.
- 17 Bills and Bryant (2008) 37.
- 18 Jenkins (1984) 181, n. 41.
- 19 Watts quoted in Bills and Bryant (2008) 65.
- 20 Watts quoted in Bills and Bryant (2008) 65.
- 21 Watts’s friendship with Newton (who also brought back from his expeditions delicate statuettes from Cnidus), as well as his close relationship with the Ionides family who actively collected Tanagra figurines in the 1870s, may suggest that the artist knew about these Hellenistic variations on the draped female figure.
- 22 See also Jenkyns in this volume.
- 23 Rossetti (1867) 66. This anecdote is also told (in the same translation) in Jones (1854) 31.
- 24 Algernon Charles Swinburne, ‘Notes on Some Pictures of 1868’, in Swinburne (1925–27) vol. 15, 197.
- 25 Algernon Charles Swinburne, ‘The Poems of Dante Gabriel Rossetti’, in Swinburne (1925–27) vol. 15, 7–8: ‘No nakedness could be more harmonious, more consummate in its fleshly sculpture, than the imperial array and ornament of this august poetry. Mailed in gold as of the morning and girdled with gems of strange water, the beautiful body as of a carven goddess gleams through them tangible and taintless, without spot or default’.

- 26 On A. C. Swinburne's relationship to sculpture, see Østermark-Johansen (2010) 21–37: 'since Hermaphroditus, he had been fascinated with the conceit of waking up a sleeping marble statue'.
- 27 Edward Burne-Jones, *Laus Veneris* (1873–1875), oil on canvas, The Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
- 28 A. C. Swinburne's 'Laus Veneris' in Swinburne (2000) 1.1–4, 9.
- 29 A. C. Swinburne's 'Atalanta in Calydon' in Swinburne (2000) 1.729–36, 271.
- 30 Robert Buchanan quoted in Hyder (1970) 31: 'he tosses to us this charming book of verses, which bears some evidence of having been inspired in Holywell Street'.
- 31 Robert Buchanan 'The Fleshly School of Poetry', *Contemporary Review* (Octobre 1871) reproduced in Collins and Rundle (1999) 1332.
- 32 Art Journal, 'Tinted Sculpture' (July 1862) quoted by Smith (1996) 121.
- 33 See Monks et al. (2013) 205–6.
- 34 Matthews (1911) 182–3.
- 35 Matthews (1911) 183.
- 36 Woolner (1881) 132: 'The life he gave was blood. He stabbed the maid / Who loved him: and he mixed her blood with clay, / And with that clay he made his statue live'.
- 37 See Jowett's letter to Swinburne dated 9 December 1881 in Meyers (2005), vol. 2, 286: 'Have you seen Pygmalion by T. Woolner, Sculptor and Poet? I think that [...] it has a good deal of merit for this reason that it is an attempt to express the poetry of sculpture, though heavy in parts'.
- 38 See A. C. Swinburne's 'Notes on Poems and Reviews' in Swinburne (2000) 411.
- 39 A. C. Swinburne's 'At Eleusis' in Swinburne (2000) 1.51–63, 167.
- 40 See Postle (2009) 165–85.
- 41 L. Alma-Tadema, *Phidias Showing the Frieze of the Parthenon to his Friends* (1868), oil on canvas, Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery.
- 42 Ross (2013) 106.
- 43 See Nichols (2015) 74–7.
- 44 John Gibson, *Tinted Venus* (1851–6, exh. 1862), Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool. Matthews (1911) 230: 'The well-known architect, Owen Jones, had constructed a beautiful Greek temple, simple, chaste, in consonance with the statuary and to set them off. This was the first time tinted statuary were exhibited in England and Greece's Polychromy raised a storm of controversy, with a consensus of opinion generally unfavourable to tinting'. According to Ross, Wilde was also an admirer of Gibson's polychrome practice as he praised his *Tinted Hebe* (1864) in the following terms: 'a lovely statue by the bye, quite Greek, and the effect of the colouring is most lifelike and beautiful' [Ross (2013) 108]. This statue may also have inspired Thomas Anstey Guthrie's 1885 farcical novel, *The Tinted Venus*, upon which the film *One Touch of Venus* (discussed in Winkler's chapter in this volume) is based. Chapter 9 opens with an epigraph from *A Winter's Tale*: 'Does not the stone rebuke me / For being more stone than it?' (V, 3).

- 45 Pater (1986) 118. In Shakespeare's play, the 'statue' of Hermione is also polychrome as it were: 'The ruddiness upon her lips is wet'.
- 46 Pater (1986) 144: 'Again, the supreme and colourless abstraction of those divine forms, which is the secret of their repose, is also a premonition of the fleshless, consumptive refinements of the pale, medieval artists'.
- 47 Pater (1925), vol.6, 216: 'traceable all through Greek art—an Asiatic curiousness, or poikilia'. *Poikilia* may be translated as 'multi-coloured' or 'variegated'.
- 48 Pater (1925), vol.7, 191.
- 49 Ross (2013) 109.
- 50 See Chapter 9 in Higgins (1986). The first figurines were acquired for the Louvre by Oliver Rayet.
- 51 Danseuse Titeux, c.350 BC, polychrome statuette, Musée du Louvre.
- 52 For more technical analyses of the colours of the Louvre Tanagras, see Bourgeois (2007) 81–9 and Bouquillon et al. (2007) 91–9.
- 53 *La Dame en bleu*, c.330–00 BC, polychrome statuette, Musée du Louvre.
- 54 Lawrence Alma-Tadema, *Fishing* (1873), oil on wood, Hamburger Kunsthalle.
- 55 On the links between Alma-Tadema and Gérôme, see Barrow (2001) 188–9.
- 56 Wilde (1997) 969.
- 57 As noted by M. Bell, 'Tanagra figures are [. . .] by nature drapery studies, and much is ruled out, including overt narrative or religious content' which certainly appealed to the exponents of 'Art for Art's Sake'. See Bell (1993) 40.
- 58 Wilde (1910) vol. 2, 91. In Wilde's play, *An Ideal Husband* (1895), Mabel is also compared to a Tanagra: 'But she is really like a Tanagra statuette, and would be rather annoyed if she were told so' see Wilde (1910) vol. 7, 5.
- 59 This catalogue is mentioned in one of Whistler's letters to Thomson dated 15 August 1895. www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/correspondence/date/display/?cid=8306&year=1895&month=08&rs=12#tan08306-back. Accessed July 2014.
- 60 The 'Six Projects' is made up of six oil sketches commissioned in 1868 by Whistler's patron F. R. Leyland (1831–1892). These sketches (now in the Freer Art Gallery, Washington) were all scenes with women and flowers, and all of them bear the influence of Greek and Japanese art. See MacDonald et al. (2003) 97.
- 61 Albert Moore, *Pansies* (1875), oil on canvas, Tate Gallery.
- 62 Tanagras were first seen by the general public at an exhibition of Greek art held in Paris in 1878. However Charles Newton may have also paved the way for this craze with his Cnidian statuettes, discovered in 1856 and 1858. See 'Les Tanagréennes de Cnide et Halicarnasse' in Jeammet (2003) 260–1.
- 63 V. Jeammet has underlined the 'Dyonisian connotations' of these figurines Jeammet (2003) 146.
- 64 According to Rodin, Fuller had: 'réveillé la superbe Antiquité en montrant des Tanagras en actions'. Garnier (2008) 79
- 65 See the catalogue of the exhibition held at the Musée Bourdelle in 2009–2010 Isadora Duncan (1877–1927), *Une sculpture vivante*.

- 66 This poem was included in the volume entitled *The God* (1913–1917). See Doolittle (1983) 50.
- 67 H. D. indeed claimed in *Asphodel* (1922): ‘We are legitimate children. We are children of the Rossettis, of Burne-Jones, of Swinburne. We are in the thoughts of Wilde. [. . .] They talked of Greeks and flowers. Do people talk that way? None I know’ Doolittle (1992). 53]. On the links between H. D. and Swinburne, see Ribeyrol (2009) 205–21.

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‘Grecian dances’ and the transformations of corporeality in the age of moving images

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The presence of dancing girls ‘in desert tents or in the courts of Roman emperors or within the palaces of oriental monarchs’¹ is a well-established theme of films related to the worlds of the ancient Mediterranean and Near East throughout the twentieth century. In fact, dancing girls are so common in such films that they often go unnoticed by both the characters within the film narratives themselves and their spectators. As David Meyer argues, these dancers are little more than ‘set-dressing—part of the furnishings, mood enhancers—which add nothing to the narrative’.² But in parallel to the dancing girls of epic and sword-and-sandal films, and completely independently from them, another type of dancer inspired by antiquity developed in the course of the twentieth century. This is a type of dancer associated with experimental, avant-garde choreography by and with the film camera. From Martha Graham’s *Night Journey* to Pina Bausch’s *Orpheus and Eurydice* and DV8’s *Enter Achilles*,³ the art form of ‘dance film’ returned to the concept of the Greek body to explore complex ideas about alternative forms of aesthetic, personal, and political freedom.⁴ The aim of this chapter is not to examine these two distinct types of dance film but to return to a point in time before this bifurcation between commercial and avant-garde forms of film takes place, to explore the significance of some of the ‘roads not taken’⁵ by cinema for the conceptualisation of the relation between the modern body and ancient Greece.⁶ The emergence of cinema at the end of the nineteenth century marks a profound shift in the way in which Greece is conceptualised in the modern world. A culture previously perceived as remote and inaccessible, the object of contemplation from a distance or the product of the imagination, is suddenly transformed into a vivid but fleeting reality to be experienced through the senses. Early cinema makes possible the generation of new modes of perception and thought in modernity within which Greece becomes not only more vivid, but also more complex, dynamic, and enigmatic. Dance is one of the most distinctive features of this reconceptualisation of Greece in cinematic modernity.

The popularity of dance in early cinema is probably not surprising in view of the emergence of modern dance as an art form at around the same time as

cinema itself. Pioneering dancers of the end of the nineteenth century and of the first two decades of the twentieth century such as Isadora Duncan, Loie Fuller, Vaslav Nijinsky, Florence Fleming Noyes, and Ruth St Denis made limited appearances on film, but their profound influence is felt throughout early cinema. The most dominant among the styles of 'ancient' dancing that remain in vogue throughout the silent cinema period are the exotic and orientalis-ing dances associated with Pharaonic Egypt and the lands of the Bible.⁷ But in addition to them, there is a distinct style of dance commonly identified in the critical and commercial discourse of the time as 'Grecian'. For instance, 'Grecian dance' features prominently among the 'seven exquisite dances' that 'every girl, every woman . . . can learn at home', as put by an advertisement for a fictitious mail order dance course in the early 1920s, a course complete with a fictional dance master.⁸ By this time, 'Grecian dances' are so popular that generic, 'eleventh-hour suggestions' for relevant film sets begin to appear in trade journals of the film industry.⁹ The story of the cultural phenomenon discussed in this chapter can be sketched out in different ways: in relation to the biographical trajectories and artistic networks of the directors, actors, choreographers, dancers, and artist's models involved; in relation to the aesthetics and politics of other dancing styles of the period on which Grecian dances draw and which they influence, including classical ballet, the variety-style dances of popular theatre, artistic and experimental dance, dance as a social practice (especially ragtime), and dance as a means of female education and emancipation; or through an evolutionary scheme of successive stages in the history of Grecian dance, from lowly or, conversely, lofty beginnings (depending on whether those beginnings are sought in popular stage entertainment or in modern dance pioneers and in scholarly beliefs of the time about the possibility of reconstructing ancient Greek dance from vase paintings and sculpture¹⁰) to the peak of a distinct and popular style and finally to a descent into mannerism and parody. In what follows I undertake a close look at a selective sample of the many, broadly forgotten and difficult to access, archival films produced before the advent of sound which feature this style of dance, with two aims. First, I want to explore some of the fault-lines of this seemingly homogeneous and uniform style of dance. Second, I want to argue that despite its internal tensions, 'Grecian dance' must be set apart from other 'ancient' dances celebrating the lightly clad or naked body of the dancer on screen because, unlike them, it strikes a precarious but important balance between cinema's drive for entertainment and its drive for moral uplift. More broadly, it must be set apart from other cinematic investments in the human body because it responds to cinema's preoccupation with the corporeal catastrophes of modernity with dynamism and energy.¹¹

A good starting point for thinking about the issues to be explored in this chapter is the film *Sunnyside* which was produced and directed by Charlie Chaplin in 1919.¹² The scene of 'an unconscious Charlie dreaming of dancing with wood-nymphs' that features half-way through the film can be seen as a

digression from the film's main narrative but also, in many ways, as 'the film's centrepiece' (Figure 9.1).¹³ At a most concrete level, this sequence can be seen as a parody of the modernist ballet *Afternoon of a Faun*, choreographed by the Russian dancer and choreographer Vaslav Nijinsky in 1912,¹⁴ a parody filtered through Chaplin's distinctive pantomime, disrupted by comic gags, contaminated by gestures and movements associated with Pharaonic Egypt (among other ancient cultures), and eventually cut short by the resumption of the film's main narrative as Charlie regains consciousness, and 'the fair maidens bulge out into worldly creatures, headed by the vengeful boss'.¹⁵ At the same time, this sequence engages with a much more diffuse but persistent iconography of classical nymphs dancing in the pastoral landscapes of literature and of visual, plastic, and performing arts. The protagonist of the film is a stranger in an exotic world, yet he interacts with this world as if he was always at home in it. A number of themes are in operation here, supported by but also extending well beyond specific references to this or that work of art: Greece as a land of



Figure 9.1 Charlie, in delirium, sees visions of girls dancing on bridge of country road

Source: Production still, *Sunnyside*, dir. Charlie Chaplin, 1919 © Roy Export S.A.S. Scan courtesy Cineteca di Bologna

pastoral bliss, as a land of dreams, as a land of sensorial excitement and of amorous license to be enjoyed through a body in effortless, fluid, and graceful movement. The sequence engages with and provides a snapshot of such themes, freezing them in a pregnant moment in time around 1919. At the same time, the sequence sets in motion a wider set of ideas around modernity and antiquity. Greece is not just antithetical to modernity but also linked with it causally: what makes possible or indeed necessary this fantastical world is the shocks of modernity. The whole sequence is presented as a dream, the direct consequence of the frantic life on a modern farm, and more specifically of a ride on an uncontrollable bull that results in an accident that leaves the protagonist of the film unconscious. Getting to Greece is presented as the failure to cross a bridge, as the impact of a near fatal road accident, a pagan equivalent of the Christian haven that can only be reached when the human body has been pushed beyond its limits. Greece is linked with modernity not only antithetically and causally but also analogically, as it replicates the constant movement, the restlessness, and the shocks and thrills of chance encounters with the enigmatic and the unpredictable. To dismiss such a sequence as a narrative digression adding little to the development of the film's plot, or to dismiss it as an example of pure escapism, is to seriously misunderstand its function and significance. This Greece in movement is not an antidote to modernity to be administered in a controlled environment in order to counter the effects of modernity. Rather it is a symptom, a side effect, a reaction that cannot be controlled rationally that is at once compulsive and inevitable.

This dream-like sequence of dancing with 'phantom girls in Greek costumes from a never-never land'¹⁶ in Charlie Chaplin's *Sunnyside* can only make sense when viewed in the larger context of the craze for Grecian dances at the beginning of the twentieth century: in vaudeville houses and music halls, in modernist ballet, photography, painting, literature, and poetry. But also and above all in numerous, now forgotten, films of the period that, like *Sunnyside*, both capture the diversity and complexity of this rich cultural phenomenon and open new possibilities for it. The films in question range from one-minute or two-minute recordings of stage dances in the late 1890s to feature-length films in the late 1910s containing carefully choreographed dance sequences. Arguably, Grecian dances on film oscillate between two distinct but inter-related dancing styles. On the one hand, there is a very popular dance style that is mimetic and character-based, engaging with and 'bound to pictorial modes of choreography and perception'.¹⁷ On the other hand, a new dance style emerges during this period that exceeds its narrative function and the parameters of the still image, accentuating uninterrupted and often abstract movement as 'an "affective" force',¹⁸ a force exemplifying the movement of modernity'.¹⁹ *Sunnyside* illustrates the oscillation between these two styles, and sometimes their uncomfortable coexistence, but other films from the period seem to be much less divided on their choice between the two and on the affective responses they trigger.

Pictorialism and abstraction

The American film *Purity*, directed by Rae Berger in 1916 and featuring the artist's model Audrey Munson,²⁰ invites us to think about dance in relation not to movement but to still images. More specifically it illustrates what the Renaissance dancing master Domenico da Piacenza called 'phantasmata' (phantasms):

I say that whoever wants to learn this art, needs to dance through phantasmata [. . .] at each tempo you appear as if you had seen Medusa's head, as the poet says; after having performed the movement, you should appear entirely made of stone in that instant and in the next you should put on wings like a falcon moved by hunger, according to the above rule, that is to say, employing measure, memory, manner with measure of ground and air.²¹

As Giorgio Agamben notes, 'Domenico calls "phantasm" (*fantasma*) a sudden arrest between two movements that virtually contracts within its internal tension the measure and the memory of the entire choreographic series'.²² In *Purity*, those sudden arrests between movements give structure, pace, and flow to a whole series of dance sequences. But seen from such a perspective, 'the true locus of [dancing] is not the body and its movement but the image as a "Medusa's head," as a pause that is not immobile but simultaneously charged with memory and dynamic energy'.²³

Arguably it is no coincidence that in the same film that dancing is dominated by the aesthetic of the pose, the female protagonist appears not only as a dancer but also as a performer embodying a whole stream of famous classical and neoclassical statues showing 'the interplay between the fantasy of the inanimate object that comes to life and the dream of the living body that turns to stone'.²⁴ *Purity* features dance sequences alongside a type of live performance which was very popular in the second half of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth, called *tableaux vivants* or living statuary 'in which live models reproduced a well-known painting or sculpture and held the pose for a set period of time'.²⁵ More specifically the film engages with *poses plastique*, 'a more specialist form of representation in which models assumed the position of nude figures in well-known works of art or generic mythological and classical subjects'.²⁶ In a single scene, the film's protagonist poses in a whole series of works of sculpture: 'Spring' by Albert Toft, 'Abundance' by Charles Bitter, 'Allegro' by A. Fern, 'Aphrodite of Cnidus' by Praxiteles, and 'Descending Night' by A. A. Weinman for the Panama Pacific International Exposition. As Lynda Nead argues, 'tableaux vivants . . . enjoyed a range of cultural identities from sleazy, vaudeville nudity at one end of the scale to the artistic and edifying reproduction of the finest examples of western art at the other'.²⁷ But whereas the performers of living statuary and poses plastique 'were not naked but were generally covered by close-fitting [and flesh-coloured] body

stockings',²⁸ *Purity* takes the tension between artistic ambition and sexual titillation to a new level, pushing the limits of representation and representability to an extreme. The dispute between the film's producers and the National Board of Review of Motion Pictures resulted into a demand on the part of the Board for the drastic reduction of frontal nudity and of sexual suggestiveness in the title cards.²⁹ As a classical nymph, the film's lead actress Audrey Munson was at once a source of artistic inspiration for poets, painters, and other artists and of financial and sexual exploitation or moral condemnation by much of their environment. The film suggests that an encounter between modernity and classical nymphs can only have two possible outcomes: the more 'optimistic', suggested by the fate of the female protagonist at the end of the film, is that the nymph, object of inspiration and desire, will eventually be transformed into a wife, disappearing from the limelight under the cloak of domestic invisibility. The less optimistic outcome, suggested by Audrey Munson's own tragic fate, is that a modern Greek nymph, object of insatiable spectatorial consumption, media reproduction, and commercial exploitation, will eventually suffer a combination of depression, schizophrenia, and paranoia, ending her days away from the lights of publicity, in an asylum.³⁰ This is a complex and dynamic snapshot of how, why, and at what cost a classical nymph can be brought back to life around 1916, a snapshot that, like Walter Benjamin's concept of the dialectic image, encapsulates different ideas converging, colluding, or clashing: nudity and morality, emancipation and oppression, entertainment and regulatory control, artistic inspiration and commercial exploitation, and all of them under the heading of images in motion.

Grecian dances can be conceptualised through still images, poses that capture the complexity and the dynamism of movement upon its engagement with other art forms and media. This mode of dance can be traced in other films of the 1910s, from D. W. Griffith's drama *Oil and Water* (to be discussed below) to the mythological fantasy *Diana the Huntress* (dir. C. W. Allen and F. T. Miller, USA 1916),³¹ that features dances by divinities and forest nymphs (among which 'The Bubble and Scarf dances by pupils of Florence Fleming Noyes') accompanied by paintings identified in title cards and brought to life on the screen. However, Grecian dances can also be associated with a style of dance that privileges constant movement, a more abstract form of movement that cannot be distilled with the help of still images and that cannot be adequately caught on camera or even on film. The shift 'from dance styles bound to pictorial modes of choreography and perception to dance as a force exemplifying the movement of modernity'³² can be seen most clearly in the case of the celebrated dancer Loie Fuller and her many imitators. Consider the photographic depiction of the blurred figure of a ghost-like Loie Fuller whose movement cannot be caught on camera against the museum-like display of Greco-Roman and neoclassical artefacts that surround her (Figure 9.2). Or the constantly transforming shapes of an imitator of Loie Fuller 'waving her voluminous costume-like wings' against the backdrop of a classical temple



Figure 9.2 Loie Fuller as blurred figure in room

Source: Photograph, Jerome Robbins Dance Division, The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

and a rural landscape recorded on film by Pathé frères (France) in 1905.³³ Both provide us with competing models for thinking about antiquity, articulating a clash between still images and movement that 'obscures and dissolves the dancing body',³⁴ a clash between a museum of lifeless images and a museum of movement that even the technological capabilities of photography and cinema struggle to contain. Be it as a ghost haunting the museum of Greek antiquities or as a bat flying in the twilight of pastoral Greece, the arrival of this type

of abstract and automatic movement alters its environment radically, while also seeking to inscribe itself within it.

This dancing style can be traced throughout the 1910s and early 1920s in films influenced by Isadora Duncan and Ruth St Denis such as *Blue Bird* (dir. M. Tourneur, USA, 1918),³⁵ in which a whole series of different types of joy and happiness are visualised through female dancers in white drape dresses, and *The Soul of the Cypress*, featuring a dancing Dryad on 'California's romantic coast' (dir. D. Murphy, USA, 1921).³⁶ This dancing style, however, can also be traced back to some of the earliest films on antiquity produced in the 1890s and early 1900s. The ability of the body of the dancer to create a new reality in space and time affects not only *pictorial* representations of classical antiquity such as sets and costumes but also *textual* representations of antiquity such as title cards and film titles. In some of the earliest film dances ever produced such as *Neptune's Daughters* (1900), *A Nymph of the Waves* (1900), and *Cupid and Psyche* (1897) there is very little other than the film title itself that allows us to draw a firm link between the affective 'mixture of ballet and variety-style dancing'³⁷ on the screen and the world of classical antiquity. The search for 'rhythm, order and harmony' as values of movement rather than as 'traditional pictorial values' can be traced one step further back, to the motion studies of Eadweard Muybridge's chronophotography, especially those featuring female models wearing fluttering and semi-transparent classical drapery (such as *Animal Locomotion*, Plate 187—Dancing, fancy, no. 12, Miss Larrigan).³⁸ As much as a pragmatic ploy for respectability and artistic legitimization on the part of early cinema and its nineteenth-century predecessors, this mode of referencing classical antiquity has far-reaching implications for antiquity itself. It reduces its linguistic and pictorial identity to a bare minimum, to isolated signs such as the temple, the white robe, or a classical name. And it promises the replacement of text-based and image-based models of antiquity with a new aesthetic of an embodied antiquity in motion, exemplified through dance as an affective force devoid of narrative context.

Affective responses

Dances of the Ages was scripted and directed by the pioneer American dancer Ted Shawn in 1913.³⁹ Using trick photography, it shows miniature dancers performing brief dances evoking different historical eras 'upon a banquet table before an assemblage of old dancing masters'.⁴⁰ The film foregrounds a way of thinking about dance not as a static pose, nor as unfilmable movement, but as an event to be experienced in space and time. More specifically, *Dances of the Ages* highlights the attention demanded by the work of art as a spectacle. It shows how dance can be seen as a field that, following Jean-François Lyotard's 'work on aesthetic production and reception',⁴¹ one might call gestural. The film foregrounds a circulation and exchange of gestures that go beyond the

interaction between the body of the performer and its immediate narrative context (the costumes, sets, or title cards) and beyond the intertextual encounter of the body of the performer with other works of art. It foregrounds 'a translocation' which turns dance into a model for thinking more broadly about the work of art in relation to the responses it triggers as a 'performative and affective mode of aesthetic experience'.⁴²

The evolutionary narrative of the *Dances of the Ages* situates classical Greece at a point in history when for the first time dance becomes a performance not for but by the whole community, a dance associated not with refined symmetry but with ecstatic emotion and energy. In contrast to 'the slow, crawling incense and weird, snakelike movements of the Dance of the Priest of Ra' that precedes it and the 'Oriental dance' of the couple that follows it, the 'Greek Bacchanalia' features a *community* of revellers that 'give forth their joy in the abandonment of youth and gladness',⁴³ thus breaking down and rendering meaningless the distinction between performer and spectator. What is more, the festive atmosphere of the scene, the seemingly improvisational and instinctive celebration, the sense of crossing different spaces created by the classical columns on either side of the stage, the openness illustrated by 'the thrust of the performers' arms through the space of the *mise en scene*',⁴⁴ they all have a direct impact on the modern spectators embedded within the film. Many of the middle-aged and elderly spectators who enjoy the other ancient dances seated on their chairs now stand up, clapping enthusiastically and starting to participate in the Dionysiac abandonment of the miniature dancers on the table. The sequence of the 'Greek Bacchanalia' suggests that, as a performance event, dance can inspire an instantaneous, affective response, a response that, before becoming the subject of rational analysis and before being articulated linguistically, 'constructs' a spectatorial body that can meet the call of the originary gestures of the dance'.⁴⁵ Equally importantly, the gestural calls of the dancers are met by the modern spectators of the film's narrative not mimetically but 'on their own terms'.⁴⁶ Dance demands a response the nature of which can be impulsive, improvisational, but also to a large extent independent from what triggers it.

Another film that features a collective dance of Dionysiac abandonment and invites reflection on the affective responses it triggers is *Oil and Water*, which was produced by D. W. Griffith (for the company Biography, USA) in 1913, the same year as *Dances of the Ages*. *Oil and Water* features Blanche Sweet as Mlle. Genova, a 'good actress on and off'⁴⁷ and Henry B. Walthall as The Idealist to whom 'she appeared the living goddess of the dance and as such she entered his home'.⁴⁸ As the goddess gradually becomes 'the actress longing for the life that was past', oil and water begin to separate and the marriage falls apart. 'The Idealist returns to his books and dreaming; the actress to her gay public life'.⁴⁹ The initial meeting between the two characters takes place during a performance of 'The Dance of the Fleeting Hours' in which the female

protagonist features as Venus. The dance consists of eight numbers, identified through close-ups of the programme that the Idealist holds in his hands:⁵⁰

First—Venus, the Goddess of Love, ushers youth into Earth's enticing promises.
Second—Jupiter holding aloft the roses of happiness descends among the mortals.

Third—Unseen, the Sands of Time run on.

Fourth—Stirred by the world-old desires, the mortals dance after the impossible.

Fifth—Time, the silent reaper, shadows their excesses.

Sixth—The endless chase in quest of phantom happiness.

Seventh—Time reaps its fruitful harvest.

Eight—Ashes.

A minority of critics have criticised the dance as a 'pseudo-classical silliness', in which the lead actress, who had taken time off from movie-making to perform with Gertrude Hoffman's dance troupe, is 'sitting in a chair while the rest of the company does the dancing'.⁵¹ Most contemporary spectators, however, saw the dance as 'sensational',⁵² 'a magnificent spectacle',⁵³ 'remarkably graceful',⁵⁴ and as 'a beautifully pictured classic dance which is made to symbolise life and its pursuit of happiness'.⁵⁵ Much more than a convenient backdrop for the meeting of the lead characters, this dance, taking up half of the film's total length, carries symbolic significance and demonstrates the film's artistic ambition. The American poet Vachel Lindsay, who wrote a poem about Blanche Sweet inspired by her performance in the film,⁵⁶ described the dance 'and speculated as to its origin' as follows:

Blanche Sweet is the leader of the play within a play which occupies the first reel. Here the Olympians and the Muses, with a grace that we fancy was Greek, lead a dance that traces the story of the spring, summer, and autumn of life. Finally the supple dancers turn grey and old and die, but not before they have given us a vision from the Ionian islands. The play might have been inspired from reading Keats' *Lamia*, but it is probably derived from the work of Isadora Duncan.⁵⁷

As David Mayer notes, choreographed dance episodes were 'a critical component of [Griffith's] film work', often functioning as prologues and employed 'as both allegorical and diegetic narrative elements'.⁵⁸ Unlike the orientalising and eroticised dances of other films by Griffith such as *Judith of Bethulia* and the Babylonian story of *Intolerance*, the 'Greek' dance of *Oil and Water* transcends its historical specificity, and its allegorical function feeds into the characters' own perception of their roles within the narrative. The dance dramatises the passage of time as a Bacchic spectacle initiated and measured with an hour-glass by Venus, orchestrated by Jupiter, and brought to an end by Time as the Grim Reaper. Despite the complex and meticulously choreographed

performance (by a very young Gertrude Bambrick lured by Griffith 'away from Gertrude Hoffman's Ballets Russes'⁵⁹), the focus of the narrative remains equally divided between the dance itself and its spectators. On the one hand there is the Idealist whose initial engagement with the 'passing show' (as the film's first title card puts it) is cognitive, informed by his life-long devotion to books and the textual medium of the programme that he holds in his hand, which gives structure and meaning to the performance.⁶⁰ This approach to the dance quickly gives way to an impulsive engagement with the spectacle and to his falling in love with the goddess of the dance to whom he proposes immediately after the performance. On the other hand, there is the actress herself who, although part of the spectacle, remains emotionally detached and physically distanced from the dancing group of mortal revellers, as befitting the divine character of Venus she performs,⁶¹ while also observing her captivated audience and exchanging looks with the Idealist. The film dramatises two distinct and arguably irreconcilable visions of life informed by two similarly distinct and irreconcilable visions of ancient Greece. The first, personified by the Idealist, relates to contemplation and devotion to solitary reading in a temple of knowledge (complete with a classicising façade, as the external shots of the Idealist's grand house make clear). The second, personified by the actress, relates to embodied emotions, role-playing, and the appeal of living in the public eye. The dance becomes a catalyst for the encounter between these two approaches, setting in motion the narrative of the film but also for exposing their limitations that bring the narrative to an end. If in the film *Purity*, discussed above, the domestication of a classical nymph holds the promise of narrative closure, in *Oil and Water* the 'living goddess of the dance'⁶² can only enter a modern household through practices of projection, role-playing, and make-believe whose allure cannot withstand the passage of time.

The issues of emancipation and oppression return in the 'Grecian' dance of the war comedy *Johanna Enlists*, directed by William Desmond Taylor and starring Mary Pickford, produced in the USA in 1918.⁶³ Like Charlie Chaplin's *Sunnyside*, with which this chapter began, *Johanna Enlists* joins a group of films that respond to the early twentieth-century craze for Grecian dances with the help of parody. Other films of this kind include *The Mothering Heart* (dir. D. W. Griffith, USA, 1913) featuring a sequence in a nightclub where a 'Bacchus dancer flings a woman through aerial moves',⁶⁴ *Don't Change Your Husband* (dir. Cecil B. DeMille, USA, 1919) in which Ted Shawn appears as a dancing Pan with flute in a Vision of Love sequence,⁶⁵ *Oh Doctor* (dir. Harry A. Pollard, USA, 1925) in which the protagonist daydreams of himself as Pan chasing a nymph,⁶⁶ and *The Prodigal Bridegroom* (dir. Lloyd Bacon and Earle Rodney, USA, 1926) which features a young couple in love doing a slow motion dance with scarves in the Grecian style of the period.⁶⁷ For the purposes of this discussion, however, *Johanna Enlists*'s more important contribution lies in that it makes possible to situate Grecian dances in relation to the broader issue of women's education.⁶⁸ In doing so it joins other films of this period such as the

western comedy *Rowdy Ann* (dir. A. Christie, USA, 1919) in which Fay Tincher as a wild, frontier girl is sent to a women's boarding school to learn, among other things, to dance gracefully,⁶⁹ and *Golden Shower* (dir. J. W. Noble, USA, 1919) in which Gladys Leslie takes the role of 'a college girl who is the prime "figer" in a Grecian dance given on Commencement Day'.⁷⁰

In *Johanna Enlists*, the sequence in which the young protagonist turns to Grecian dance in search of 'a higher education' (as the relevant title card puts it) brings together many of the issues discussed in this chapter, and as such it serves as a good example with which to conclude. First, it draws attention to the intertextual links between dance and a pictorial mode of choreography that is here illustrated through poses in a book that the aspiring, self-taught dancer consults as she goes along. In addition, the sequence demonstrates the unfulfilled promises and the limitations of the emancipatory and transformative potential of embodied learning, Johanna herself arguing that she is 'getting grace' when her parents think she is 'getting fits'. And finally, the sequence draws attention to dance as a performance event open to contingency. The amusement of Johanna's little sisters, no less than the initial disbelief and subsequent anger and disruptive intervention of Johanna's mother and father, illustrate the impulsive, spontaneous, and unpredictable nature of the gestural encounters between dancer and spectator on screen. The scene suggests that the gestural economy of film dance can affirm itself even when everything around it goes spectacularly wrong.

Conclusion

The emergence of cinema took place at a pivotal moment in the modern history of ancient Greece usually associated with the decline of the study of Greek in schools and universities.⁷¹ At this same moment, however, a profound reconceptualisation of ancient Greece was under way across a range of critical and artistic discourses ranging from psychoanalysis and anthropology to modernism in literature, the visual and performing arts as well as anthropology.⁷² The transition from the rich diversity of Victorian Hellenism to the diffuse Greece of popular culture after the Second World War cannot be understood or debated without taking into account the greater but largely unfulfilled potential of the reception of ancient Greece in early cinema. More than any other medium of this historical juncture, film encapsulates an epistemic shift that takes place at the turn of the century, a transformation in the way in which knowledge can be transmitted, stored, and retrieved, that could not leave ancient Greece unaffected. Cinema is instrumental in thinking about ancient Greece not as a narrowly defined subject of language-based or archaeologically oriented academic expertise, but as a culture; not as the object of cognitive engagement with the past but as a lived experience to be inhabited and embodied. While many aspects of this encounter between early cinema and ancient Greece lie

outside the scope of this chapter (or any other standalone chapter for that matter⁷³) and call for a larger-scale discussion, the analysis undertaken in this chapter has sought to demonstrate that such a broader discussion cannot be conducted without acknowledging the significance of dance. As the close look at the films explored in this chapter suggests (from *Sunnyside* to *Purity, Oil and Water* and *Johanna Enlists*), and as the larger trajectory of the phenomenon of Grecian dancing on early film indicates, the transformation of ancient Greece that takes place at the turn of the twentieth century would come at a cost. A Greek world previously inaccessible because of its association with the intricacies of a dead language or with the challenges of broken vases and columns would give way to a Greek world in constant motion, a sensual, fluid world that, like the experience of film-viewing itself, would capture the appearance of life so well as to become transient and ephemeral itself.

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Notes

- 1 Mayer (2013) 100.
- 2 Mayer (2013) 100.
- 3 All three are available on DVD in *Martha Graham: In Performance* (Criterion 2007), *Orpheus und Eurydike* (Bel Air Classique 2009), and *Three Ballets* by Dv8 (Arthaus 2007), respectively.
- 4 This is a point made by Zanobi (2010) 254 specifically in relation to Pina Bausch and her return to Isadora Duncan's ideas, but I argue that it has wider applicability. On the art of film dance more broadly, see Brannigan (2011). On the role of antiquity in modern dance, see the collection of essays in Macintosh (2010).
- 5 Gunning (1983) 366.

- 6 On the challenges posed by early cinema to the later divide between mainstream and art-house cinema and to its generic configurations of antiquity, see Michelakis & Wyke (2013) and Michelakis (2013, 2017).
- 7 See Mayer (2013).
- 8 This full-page advertisement can be found in the issues of *The Motion Picture Magazine* and *Shadowland* for July 1923 and of *The Picture Play Magazine* for March and June 1924. On the invention of this fake dance course and its dance master Sergei Marinoff by the novelist and screenwriter Vera Caspary, see her autobiographical account in Caspary (1979) 57–63.
- 9 See the 'Temple Muse' setting offered as a solution to such dances in *Moving Picture World*, 3 October 1925, 401.
- 10 On the influential work by Emmanuel (1896) and its impact, see Naerebout (2010) and Albright (2010).
- 11 On the bodily crisis that occurs around the turn of the twentieth century, i.e. at the time of the emergence of cinema, see Väliaho (2010) with bibliography. On the role of early modern choreography in developing aesthetic responses to that crisis, see McCarren (2003).
- 12 The film is available on DVD in *The Essential Charlie Chaplin—Vol. 11: Sunnyside / A Day's Pleasure / The Kid* (Cobra Entertainment LLC, 2010).
- 13 Nye (2012). On the reception of the scene in French film and art critics of the time, especially Élie Faure and Louis Delluc, see Tsivian (2004) 149–55 and Huff (1951) 110. On James Joyce's novel *Ulysses*, see Briggs (1996) 180. On Vladimir Nabokov's novel *Invitation to a Beheading*, see Tsivian (2004) 149–50. On the German film theorist Siegfried Kracauer who discusses it as an example of fantasy embedded in a realist mode of filmmaking that works because of its playfulness, see Kracauer (1960) 86. On dream sequences as a thematic preoccupation in Chaplin's work and as a technique of revealing character nuances, see Lemaster (1997).
- 14 On the relation between Chaplin and Nijinsky, see Tsivian (2004) 149–55. On Nijinsky's *Afternoon of a Faun*, see Burt (1995) 73–97 and Farfan (2008) with further bibliography.
- 15 Huff (1951) 110.
- 16 Kracauer (1960) 86.
- 17 Brannigan (2011) 34.
- 18 Brannigan (2011) 34.
- 19 Brannigan (2011) 34. On this broader phenomenon of abstraction in early film and dance, see further Andrew (2012) with bibliography.
- 20 The only surviving print of the film is held at the Archives françaises du film du Centre national du cinéma et de l'image animée in Paris (Bois d'Arcy) and is available for onsite viewing.
- 21 Quoted in Agamben (2013) 7–8.
- 22 Agamben (2013) 8.
- 23 Agamben (2013) 10.
- 24 Nead (2007) 69.

- 25 Nead (2007) 70.
- 26 Nead (2007) 70.
- 27 Nead (2007) 72.
- 28 Nead (2007) 70.
- 29 See further Chris (2012). Much of the relevant correspondence can be found in the file for *Purity* in the 'Controversial Films' subseries in box 106 of The National Board of Review of Motion Pictures at the Manuscripts and Archives Division, New York Public Library.
- 30 On the life of Audrey Munson, see Bone (2016), Geyer (2007), and Rozes & Gottehrer (1999).
- 31 The film is available for onsite viewing at the Library of Congress. A four-minute excerpt is available on DVD in *Unseen Cinema: Early American Avant-Garde Film (1894–1947)*, Image Entertainment 2013.
- 32 Brannigan (2011) 34.
- 33 A digital copy of the film is available for online viewing via the Digital Collections of the New York Public Library under the collective title 'Three curiosities (Motionpicture)' at <http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/bd378590-f875-0130-00c1-3c075448cc4b>. Accessed 14 March 2016.
- 34 Brannigan (2011) 23.
- 35 Available on DVD in a standalone edition by Kino Lorber, 2005.
- 36 Available on DVD in *Viva la Dance: The Beginnings of Ciné-Dance*, Image Entertainment 2005.
- 37 Quoted from the Library of Congress catalogue entry for *A Nymph of the Waves*, <http://lccn.loc.gov/96520492>. Accessed 14 March 2015. *Neptune's Daughters* and *A Nymph of the Waves* are available on DVD in the collection *Viva la Dance: The Beginnings of Ciné-Dance*, Image Entertainment 2005. *Cupid and Psyche* can be viewed online via the Library of Congress at www.loc.gov/item/00694186/. Accessed 14 March 2016.
- 38 Prodger (2003) 233–4, quotations from p. 233.
- 39 On Ted Shawn's contribution to choreographic development and its legacy, see Terry (1976) and Burt (1995) 104–15. On Ted Shawn's choreographic work inspired by ancient Greece, see Michelakis (2010).
- 40 The film is held in the Ted Shawn collection of the Jerome Robbins Dance Division of the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts. A digital copy of the film is available for online viewing via the Digital Collections of the New York Public Library at <http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/d08ab170-f875-0130-dc17-3c075448cc4b>. Last accessed 4 March 2016. Quotation from an advertisement of forthcoming Edison films in *Motography*, 17 May 1913, 7. For a more detailed description and review, see *The Moving Picture World*, 24 May 1913, 840 and 7 June 1913, 1032.
- 41 Brannigan (2011) 183.
- 42 Brannigan (2011) 172.
- 43 *The Moving Picture World*, 24 May 1913, 840.

- 44 Brannigan (2011) 177.
- 45 Brannigan (2011) 175.
- 46 Brannigan (2011) 177.
- 47 *The Moving Picture World*, 1 February 1913, 494. The only surviving print of the film is available for onsite viewing at the BFI National Film Archive. An out-of-print VHS version of the film, included in an anthology of silent films by D. W. Griffith released by the company Grapevine Video in 1980 (entitled 'D.W. Griffith (1912). Vol. 3'), is only available through certain USA libraries.
- 48 *The Moving Picture World*, 1 February 1913, 494.
- 49 Supplement to the *Bioscope*, 27 March 1913, xi.
- 50 The programme can be glimpsed in the title cards, but it is also reproduced in *The Moving Picture World*, 5 April 1913, 40, courtesy of one of its readers.
- 51 Kaufman (2002) 222–3.
- 52 *The Moving Picture World*, 4 September 1915, 1721.
- 53 *The Moving Picture World*, 4 September 1915, 1669.
- 54 *The Moving Picture World*, 22 February 1913, 780.
- 55 *The Moving Picture World*, 22 February 1913, 780.
- 56 The poem, entitled 'Blanche Sweet-Moving Picture Actress [After seeing the reel called *Oil and Water*]', was originally published in *The Little Review*, June 1914, 4. Reproduced in Mayer (2013) 102–3.
- 57 Lindsay (1915) 81; cf. Mayer (2009) 175 and (2013) 102.
- 58 Mayer (2009) 3–4. See also Kendall (1979) 134–49.
- 59 Kendall (1979) 139.
- 60 One the novelty of 'a special program for the dances' as 'something that will emphasise the feature', see *The Moving Picture World*, 5 April 1913, 40.
- 61 On Venus as a key mythological model for thinking about cultural views on womanhood in the age of the new woman, social dance, and subscription magazines, see Malnig (1999). On Venus' role in the emergence of silent film stardom, see Williams (2013).
- 62 *The Moving Picture World*, 1 February 1913, 494.
- 63 The film is available for online viewing via the Internet Archive at <https://archive.org/details/MaryPickford4>. Accessed 14 March 2016. For a reading of the film as a comical portrayal of the home front during the Great War, see Tholas-Disset (2015).
- 64 Rodney Sauer in www.nitrateville.com/viewtopic.php?f=3&t=16238. Accessed 14 March 2016. The film is available on DVD in *Griffith Masterworks: Biograph Shorts (1908–1914)*, Kino Video 2002.
- 65 Available on DVD in *Don't Change Your Husband / The Golden Chance*, Image Entertainment 2005.
- 66 Available on DVD in a standalone edition by Grapevine Video, 2011.
- 67 *Motion Picture News*, 25 September 1926, 1189, relates it more specifically to the classically inspired and pantomime- and tableaux-based style of the Marion

- Morgan Dancers. The film is available on DVD in the collection *The Silent Comedy Mafia, Volume 1 (1918–1928)*, Unknown Video 2006.
- 68 For the broader relation between Hellenism and women's education around this period, see especially Fiske (2008), Olverson (2010), Koulouris (2011), and Gregory (1997).
- 69 The film is commercially available on DVD in the collection *Slapstick Encyclopedia (1909–1929)*, Image Entertainment, 2002 and in *Scarlet Days*, Grapevine Video 2008.
- 70 *Film Daily*, 21 December 1919, 15. To my knowledge no print of this film survives.
- 71 Stray (1998), esp. 202–70.
- 72 Fiske (2008); Winterer (2002) and (2007).
- 73 As argued in Michelakis & Wyke (2013) and Michelakis (2017).

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Fashioning a modern self in Greek dress: the case of Eva Palmer Sikelianos

Artemis Leontis

Classicism in modern dress is a promising, unexplored area for the study of 'Hellenic enthusiasm', as Momigliano refers the European and American attraction to Greek ideas and forms,¹ in constructions of 'the everyday'.² Traces of ancient dress—not actual cloth but its representation in Greek and Roman art—have inspired waves of fashion from the eighteenth century to the present, transforming 'contemporaneous fashion into a classical style'.³ Fleshing out western Hellenism's associations of classical Greek art with the 'natural female form', this 'classical style'⁴ rests at crucial junctures where art history, archaeology, and theatre meet industry and notions of beauty, freedom, and self-display to shape the gendered body. While most studies of post-classical receptions of the Greeks and Romans concentrate on the transmission, translation, performance, reimagination, and so on of classical works of literature, theatre, architecture, and art, my interest is in the ways the Greeks have been called upon to shape modern modes of living. Examination of the ways that fashion brought the ancient Greeks to the catwalk and the street may contribute to a better understanding of tensions in the signification of the classical as a timeless universal order, on the one hand, and 'the everyday as a common sense referent',⁵ on the other hand.

Perhaps the most extreme case of Hellenomania in Greek dress may be found in the life and work of Eva Palmer Sikelianos, a pioneer in the art of fashioning herself after the ancient Greeks. Palmer is best known as the first wife of poet Angelos Sikelianos who became a familiar figure in Greek cultural life when she dedicated nearly a decade of her life and all her financial assets to reviving two festivals at ancient Delphi.⁶ My interest here, however, focuses on her dress. From the time she arrived in Athens in July 1906 until her burial at Delphi in June 1952, she moved among fashion-conscious urban elite of Athens, Paris, and New York in home-designed, hand-woven Greek-style dresses. She did not wear Greek dresses as luxury fashions, however, in the way that Lillian Gish, for example, wore her Mariano Fortuny pleated silk Delphos gown in 1920⁷ or Jackie Onassis wore the 1967 Valentino-designed 'seafoam green silk one-shoulder [. . .] Hellenic *himation*'.⁸ For Palmer, Greek-inspired clothing was not high fashion but part of her daily habit of making her body a site of classical reception.

Palmer's daily materialisations of ancient dress and other dimensions of Greek life left a strong residue in people's memories. One tribute written a short time after Palmer's death noted the untimeliness of her presence: '[N]o one who ever saw her felt that she belonged entirely in this world'.⁹ To elaborate on her out-of-time existence, the tribute quoted a Greek woman who was a member of the chorus in one of Palmer's theatrical productions:

She was the only ancient Greek I ever knew. [...] She had a strange power of entering the minds of the ancients and bringing them to life again. She knew everything about them—how they walked and talked in the marketplace, how they latched their shoes, how they arranged the folds of their gowns when they arose from the table, and what songs they sang, and how they danced, and how they went to bed. I don't know how she knew these things, but she did.¹⁰

A rhetorical feature of this passage is the repetition of 'how' in the speaker's attempt to grasp the special knowledge Palmer exhibited. The tribute claims that Palmer 'knew *everything* about' the Greeks. But it was not the comprehensiveness of her knowledge that stood out. Rather it was the uncanny 'how' both of the Greek ways that Palmer could imitate—*how* they walked and talked, and so on—and of the way she came to know them: 'I don't know *how* she knew these things'. The passage draws attention to the processes Palmer conjured up somehow to animate Greece's material remains. How indeed!

My decade-long study of primary source documents of Palmer's life in archives in Greece, France, and the United States has brought into focus constituent elements of her daily approach to Greek revivals. These include her study of Sappho's fragments and direction of their performance in the turn-of-the-century Lesbian circle in Paris known as 'Sappho 1900';¹¹ her experimental replication of Greek textile production following the lines of experimentation happening in the margins of the emerging profession of archaeology in the early 1900s; and her calls for reforms in modern industry, particularly the design and manufacturing of dresses for women in Greece, as a weapon against European economic colonialism, along the lines of Gandhi's call for *khadi* (dress in cloth made from home-spun threads) as a tool in India's anti-colonial movement.

Elsewhere I have discussed Palmer's direction of amateur Sapphic performances in the circle of Natalie Clifford Barney and its carryover into her production of Aeschylus's *Prometheus Bound* at Delphi in 1927.¹² Here I concentrate on what Eleni Sikelianos refers to as the 'radical knots of free-thinkers trying to create utopian nodes in the quickly industrializing early twentieth century world'¹³. Palmer's experimental replication of the industry of making ancient clothes and her call to change the social conditions of the world by remaking the fashion industry after practices of the ancients. By following the lines of her work and thought in her efforts to recover ancient technologies and

advocacy for their adoption by women of the Athenian urban upper classes, I explore the connections between classicism, early twentieth-century women's engagement in the study of the material past, and the temporal paradoxes found in a certain utopian strain of modernism, which saw the youth of the world in antiquity and a future dependent on reanimating ancient life.

Experimental replication, or the 'anadromic method'

Eva Palmer Sikelianos is commonly associated with a practice of consulting ancient vase paintings and bas reliefs to recover 'with historical accuracy'¹⁴ the look and feel of the ancient Greeks, particularly in their production of drama. The association is so automatic that it calls out for a closer examination of Palmer's approach to archaeology,¹⁵ the disciplined recovery of ancient Greek materials.

Palmer was of two minds about archaeology. On the one hand, she read official archaeological reports and attended to new discoveries. She happily received confirmation from archaeologists for her work. She was especially proud when in the late 1930s she learned from her friend Joan Bush Vanderpool that the director of the American School of Classical Studies announced evidence proving 'the theory of Eva Sikelianou' on the techniques of ancient weaving. As Vanderpool wrote,

It clearly showed the pattern of the weave: a heavy warp, and an almost imperceptible weft. [. . .] It not only proved your theory, as shown in the weaving of the Delphic Festival, but it showed that [. . .] this method was used for the same reason: to produce the richness of folds seen through Greek and pre-Greek vase painting.¹⁶

At the same time, Palmer disclaimed archaeological expertise. She pretended she 'kn[e]w nothing about archaeology',¹⁷ or at least forgot everything she had read. Her work was 'bristling with archaeological mistakes'.¹⁸ Anyway she was not aiming to be 'strictly correct'¹⁹ or to avoid anachronisms.

Willful violations of chronology permeated the costumes she wove for the *Prometheus Bound* of the Delphic Festival of 1927. Her description of the creative process (particularly where she explains why she used silk to dress Oceanus and the chorus of Oceanides when she knew the ancient Greeks did not have silk) is of special interest. Silk was the material for the costumes of these supernatural beings, who were 'removed from human suffering',²⁰ as distinct from the play's suffering heroes, the Titan Prometheus and human Io, whom she dressed in coarser materials. Palmer could just imagine the powerful effect on an audience if the costumes of the entire chorus, for example, 'would look like the folds on a Greek bas-relief' when they danced. Here I draw attention to Palmer's use of the word 'like', showing her awareness that authenticity in theatrical production depends on the convincing appearance of verisimilitude

rather than historical rectitude. For example, to the effect of the archaically styled folds she added elaborate border tapestries of fish, octopus, sea flowers, seabirds, and coral figures found on Mycenaean and Minoan pottery, which predated the archaic style by one thousand years (Figure 10.1).

The very un-fifth-century costuming of the Aeschylean Ocean figures in amply draped silk with fishy Bronze Age designs did not trouble her in the least: 'I knew that the ancient Greeks were supposed not to have silk, but I did not really care', she wrote. 'I was not trying to be strictly correct, and I felt that if Aeschylus did not have silk he would have liked to have it for this particular play'.²¹ Here Palmer was embracing the creative freedom to crash temporal boundaries and re-enter the classical mode armed with an enhanced arsenal of tools. This was not a chance development; it happened quite deliberately through her careful thinking about the path ancient processes had taken in their journey through time and how she might remount that course to recover lost time.



Figure 10.1 Eva Palmer Sikelianos, *Costume of Oceanus* (detail), silk with silk woven embroidery, on display at the Angelos and Eva Sikelianos Museum, Delphi, Greece. The embroidery shows octopus and fish designs inspired from Mycenaean pottery

Photograph by Artemis Leontis taken courtesy of the Sikelianos Museum, December 2011

Αναδρομή (*anadrome*, ancient Greek ‘running upstream’) is a word capturing the effort of running against time’s inexorable current. Both in common speech and as a technical psychoanalytic term in Modern Greek, *anadrome* represents the work of dredging up memories of life erased by time’s course. It is a backward-moving recovery of life, or conversely a forward-moving return to the past. Palmer never commented on the term’s psychoanalytic usage. But she did use the word to characterise Jean-François Champollion’s method of recovering the lost language represented by ancient writing on the Rosetta Stone through his comparative study ‘with the rich traditions of modern Coptic’.²² She called his work ‘anadromic’ because its ‘going backward or remounting the current’²³ pivoted around ‘the rich traditions of a spoken language’.²⁴

In English, an anadrome is a word that forms a different word when spelled backwards. Palmer sensed that a thing’s ‘com[ing] down to us from antiquity’ is different from the process of its recovery.²⁵ In the case of the lost arts—arts which decay immediately (song, dance, other kinds of performance) or quite rapidly (soft materials such as cloth)—their ‘coming down’ has occurred through successive re-performances or the transformative repetition of a process. Orthodox Christian chant, for example, gives new voice each time to ancient words, which grow older even as they are made present. Weaving uses new threads on old instruments to produce a fresh piece of cloth for a changing world. In other words, the current of a thing’s ‘coming down’ follows a journey forward through passing time.

For Palmer, ‘remounting the current’ meant tracing old forms in current methods and following their lines of descent backward by comparing latter-day practices with ancient sources. And while such a deployment of current methods might throw light on a lost ancient art such as weaving—it might recover an analogous form or even an ‘analogous emotion’—yet, Palmer argued, ‘we shall not be able to reconstruct a lost art in an archaeological manner’.²⁶ By chronological necessity, she insisted, whatever is produced today ‘expresses another context’.²⁷ The recovery of the past is grounded in present desires or needs, including the need to revitalise traditions. It is always already anachronistic.

As inspiration for her art, Palmer collected what she referred to as ‘fragments’ or ‘debris’ (συντρίμματα, *syntrimmata*, plural of σύντριμμα, ‘utter ruin’), the ancient word she used for fragments of various kinds—from shards to dance steps to musical phrases to gestures—‘showing the dynamism of Greek tradition’.²⁸ She found these in the Greek countryside in addition to museums and archaeological sites. As she studied *syntrimmata*, she

imagined how the cloth illustrated by a sculpture or vase might sit on the loom, whether it was wool or linen, or silk or cotton—How thick was the warp, how thick and of what material the weft, how to pack the weft with the weaving comb, how to sew the cloth and wash and dye it to make it look like that imagined on a piece of marble.²⁹

Inspired by such ‘experimental craft’ (πειραματική τέχνη),³⁰ (she called her craft ‘experimental’ because it bridged the historical gap through experimentation rather than systematic historical study), she worked out a plan to replicate ancient stuff.

To execute her plan, to make new clothes as beautiful as the ancient ones, she put into practice techniques she learned by living among Greek women. She used *their* vegetable dyes, dying and spinning techniques, and horizontal loom (Figure 10.2), rather than the warp-weighted vertical loom seen in ancient art.

Making cloth thus became a collective activity connecting her with the lives of rural Greek women. Spinning and weaving also connected generations of women, from daughter to mother to grandmother, reaching back, possibly, to an ancient way of life. As much as the thread of connection to antiquity mattered to Eva, what absorbed her during her stay in Greece was the notion of a ‘Greek tradition’ found not in the

slavish copying of columns and statues and what not which can never give any better result than the Romans and the French have reached—but a knowledge



Figure 10.2 Horizontal walnut loom of Eva Palmer Sikelianos in the Angelos and Eva Sikelianos Museum, Delphi, Greece

Source: Photograph by Artemis Leontis taken courtesy of the Sikelianos Museum, December 2011

of the nobleness of the Greek spirit which one finds and understands better by living in the mountain village than by visiting an ancient temple.³¹

To fashion herself, she filled her closets with one-of-a-kind pieces of cloth. Every piece was of unfading, hand-dyed colours extracted from onionskins, beets, mussel shells, greens, and flowers. She revelled in those natural dyes: both in the rituals of making them and in their distance from the artificiality of the manufacturing factories she deplored.³²

The uniqueness of the woven pieces also mattered: each piece differed from all the others in its width, length, weight, colours, textures, designs, border decorations, and the weight and composition of its threads. Every piece remained uncut, and Palmer restyled it freely for each new occasion. New creations added to the endless variety of her daily wear.

What she wore depended on the season, the place, and the purpose of the day. Her dress was generally modest. Not only had she left behind Victorian crinolines and lace; she did not even replicate the more luxurious Greek *peplos*, the unsewn rectangle pinned at the shoulders and heavily draped to give the sculpted figures of ancient women their sumptuous look. On a warm workday when she was dying threads in the countryside (Figure 10.3) or setting up the warp of her loom with other women, she wore a simple knee-length tunic.



Figure 10.3 Photograph of Eva Palmer in a simple belted tunic, dying threads in a big vat under a roofed open pillared gallery in the countryside in Greece. Large skeins of yarn are hung to dry from the roof

Source: BMHA 189/648

Designed after the ancient *chiton*, it was a tube made of two uncut rectangles of cloth stitched along the shoulders and sides and cinched with a belt at the waist. On a day of visits or public activities or posed photographs, she dressed in a fancier tunic with embroidered border designs. If the day was cool, she gathered her braided hair under a hat or a rectangle wrapped as a bandana or turban. She covered herself with an overlaying *himation*. This was her travel dress when she walked through Athens or visited ancient sites.

Palmer's persistent attention to ruins is a reminder that she was not entirely disconnected from the work of archaeologists, no matter how vehemently she distinguished *their* 'science from the revolutionary passion of the heart'.³³ Archaeologists use many methods to recover and analyse material data. In Palmer's day, excavation, stratigraphic observation, documentation, restoration, and the presentation of artefacts were archaeology's most evident activities. Yet while all the prominent European or American male archaeologists worked in the field, behind the scenes, in excavation headquarters and tents or village homes, a growing number of women were labouring. Some were trained to reconstruct and interpret past remains; others were learning the work on the spot. They had found their way into digs either independently or as the wives or daughters of diplomats, scholars, archaeologists, or collectors. They gathered minute data such as plant life. They documented shards of clay. Or they used their time to collect ethnographic observations of living inhabitants in villages. Some women combined all this work, developing multi-faceted methodologies to support the experimental replication of ancient processes.

Weaving was a process that attracted their attention. They had greater access than their male colleagues to village homes, because they could enter relatively private women's quarters where men did not go, and watch women weave and cook. When documenting field discoveries, they handled loom weights and recorded shards of clay depicting women at the loom from different strata of history. They learned to care about weaving as a piece of the fabric of human existence: it was human labour in pre-capitalist societies, before machines replaced women and men.

Grace Mary Hood Crowfoot (1877–1957), for instance, a near contemporary of Palmer and another unconventional dresser, came to Egypt as the wife of a classicist-diplomat. '[B]ored with the restrictions of life in Cairo', she photographed 'men and women at work spinning, weaving and pottery-making' in the surrounding villages.³⁴ She then became 'proficient [. . .] herself on present-day looms of the region'.³⁵ While practicing weaving, she studied 'paintings and models of weaving from Pharaonic tombs'. Working experientially through ethnographic and archaeological evidence, she wrote speculative articles approximating the ancient technique of tablet weaving. Later archaeologists 'confirmed the correctness' of her reproduction.³⁶

Crowfoot's weaving is representative of what is known today as experimental replication: the excavation not of things but of processes, which

approximates the steps of a lost procedure.³⁷ This kind of work began happening early in the history of the discipline as 'an eccentric sideline to the *real* study of archaeology'.³⁸ It was 'eccentric' because it was 'not seen as an integral and necessary extension of archaeological research'.³⁹ Moreover, eccentric women pursued it. People such as Crowfoot and Palmer—women who seemed to acquire special knowledge about ancient life no one else could grasp—experimented with the recovery of lost processes while occupying spaces outside professional expertise.

The work of women in the peripheries of archaeology follows a pattern of inquiry that historian Bonnie Smith has categorised as 'amateurism'. Smith's analysis relates specifically to nineteenth-century women's historical research. Yet the elements she identifies also touch on the experimental work of Palmer and Crowfoot. According to Smith, female historians exhibited a keen interest in the details of the space of the past ('fabric, drapery, gardens, and works of art');⁴⁰ they attended to familial and social (over obviously political) arenas; and, most relevant to Palmer's work, they 'confronted the gulf between the living and the dead'.⁴¹

Palmer owed more than one debt when she embraced a creative spirit, which aimed to grasp what was opportune for the living moment rather than to restore the past in a 'strictly correct' way.⁴² When she insisted this spirit was more authentically Greek than any rigid historicism (in her words, quoted above, Aeschylus 'would have liked' her anachronistic creations), perhaps she was drawing on her reading of ancient Greek sources such as Thucydides's *History*, with its stated aim to render in the speeches of historical actors what was 'opportune for the moment' (τὰ δέοντα μάλιστα) rather than try to reproduce accurately words that were irretrievably lost.⁴³ And surely her attention to weaving was in dialogue with the work of Jane Harrison, another 'eccentric' Hellenomaniac, albeit a professional archaeologist, whose interest in a '*web of practices* emphasising particular parts of life'⁴⁴ found uncannily literal fulfilment in Palmer's designs. Supporting all these approaches was Nietzsche's enormously influential philosophy of 'untimely meditations' on the excessive historicising of his day. And alongside Nietzsche, I can hear Wagner's booming voice insisting that the 'German spirit' would achieve an 'inmost understanding of the Antique, [...] restoring the Purely Human to pristine freedom' not when it employed 'the antique forms to display a given stuff', but when it moulded 'the necessary new form itself through an employment of the antique concept of the world'.⁴⁵

Through her performance life in the circle of Sappho 1900, Palmer had learned to interweave the lost archaic words of Sappho with unconventional modern desires that had not yet found broader social ground for expression. She developed her poetics in that earlier phase, when she learned to unite the temporally disjointed 'no longer' of antiquity with a queer anticipation of the 'not yet present'.⁴⁶ Sappho's words were the fibres of her affective life in the years before she came to Greece.⁴⁷ Palmer and Natalie Barney and the others

in their group shuttled themselves through them—writing letters, dressing up, creating scenes, making love—to fashion new structures of belonging. Palmer did not leave behind those lessons when she moved to Greece, married Angelos Sikelianos, and abandoned western dress. As we picture Eva Palmer picking through fragments of an ancient life she observed in contemporary Greece to find inspiration for her next day's dress, we see shades of the women of her former trans-Atlantic lesbian subculture performing their lives through fragments of Sappho. Now, however, Palmer actually spun antiquity's lost threads. Experimental replication replaced the performance of a Sapphic life. Through the patient art of weaving, Palmer struck a new pose for her twentieth-century life in Greece.

'The key to the matter is the loom!'

The idea that the loom might become an instrument for Greece's emancipation from dependence on western markets did not come to Palmer immediately after she moved to Greece. For about a decade she wove cloth on her walnut loom to realise a personal, artistic goal of creativity and freedom.⁴⁸

The date and occasion when Palmer called on urban women of Greece to lead the way to victory over economic colonialism by weaving their own dresses may be identified with precision. On 16 May 1919, Allied Powers authorised twenty thousand Greek soldiers to take control of Smyrna, a major cosmopolitan centre on the coast of Asia Minor, in order to protect the city's substantial Greek community (two hundred nineteen thousand by Ottoman count but three hundred seventy-five thousand according to British statistics in the city of Smyrna and over half a million in the region), as powerful countries sparred over the Ottoman Empire's breakup.⁴⁹ The occupation was a trophy tentatively given to Greece as thanks for cooperation with the Allies in the Great War. Greeks celebrated their army's entry into Smyrna as a *nike* (νίκη), victory. For three quarters of a century, the foreign policy of Greece held its sights on expanding the country's borders to include lands in Asia Minor where Greeks had resided for more than twenty-five hundred years. That was the 'Great Idea' (Μεγάλη Ιδέα): an irredentist vision of Greece of two continents and five seas devised in the mid-nineteenth century. On 16 May, Greeks felt they had almost achieved their grand vision. *Nike* was within view.

On 17 May, the jubilant next day, the forty-five-year-old Palmer, reportedly 'still beautiful' even into her sixth decade,⁵⁰ faced the fierce headwind of Athenian high society as she tried to convince the women of the 'Women of the Lyceum' (Λυκείο Ελληνίδων) to reform their dress. She gave a similar talk, entitled 'Fashion in Greece' ('Η μόδα εις την Ελλάδα'), a year and a half later on 10 February 1921, in the 'Hall of the Archaeological Society' (Αίθουσα Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας), just as the Greek army was consolidating its position occupying Asia Minor, even as rebels of the emergent Turkish national

independence movement secretly gathered a formidable force, ready to push back.⁵¹ There the woman known as Kyria or Madame Sikelianou appeared as a 'vision of the venerable maternal ancestor [. . .] come down from a funerary monument in the Kerameikos cemetery' to make her appeal again to the very tough audience of fashionable Athenian women to reform their manner of dress.⁵²

Palmer opened by recognising the significance of the apparent Greek victory in Asia Minor. Her repetition of the word *nike*⁵³ together with the terminology of warfare to describe the stakes in women's choice of a manner of dress are startling features of the talk. For every person in the audience, *nike* suggested the all-male Greek army's conquest of Asia Minor. Palmer did not deny her audience this fantasy. But another *nike* was on her mind: a Greek-dressed sculpture, possibly the Nike of Samothrace, the sculpture she would have seen multiple times in the Louvre Museum, or the Nike of Delos, the archaic sculpture in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens (Figure 10.4), a favourite among the countless συντοίμματα that inspired her art of living.

Men's victories in war bought crucial moments of rupture, Palmer told her audience: brief openings offering opportunity for real social change. They rendered the occasion for women to wage a different kind of battle for the new order that would replace the old. The second-tier, non-combat skirmish for the new social order represented the opportunity to renew the body politic. For Palmer, the time was ripe now, with the Greek *nike* in Asia Minor almost a guaranteed military outcome, for urban Athenian women to wage smaller-scale battle to change the social order. With the right moves, their contest could produce a more secure *nike* than any bloody men's war.

But *how* might Greek women lead the way up from the ruins of the Ottoman Empire? How to avoid the stagnating tendency toward 'intoxication, indolence and corruption',⁵⁴ the hoarding of the loot of war that frequently followed military success? The question of 'how' turned Palmer's focus to process and labour: women as subjects and not just objects in the processes shaping their everyday lives.

Two assumptions about labour informed Palmer's talk. Both were underpinnings of the Arts and Crafts Movement of the late Victorian period, a reaction to the mass industrialisation in England and the United States following the invention of mechanised weaving.⁵⁵ The first assumption was that work is human, since human society requires labour, and a just, human society fights conditions of work that are inhumane. The second assumption was that work is noble; there is freedom in doing it; and a free society finds dignity in it rather than in wasting time. As Palmer saw it, alienated labour was an overwhelming problem in the present world of fashion. Labour alienation happened at two ends of the process by which contemporary women conventionally clothed themselves. On one end, people laboured like machines under inhumane conditions to create the latest fashions. On the other end, women mindlessly consumed machine-made products with rapid expiration dates,



Figure 10.4 Parian Marble Nike, dated approximately 550 BCE. Athens
National Archaeological Museum inventory number 21

Source: Photograph by Artemis Leontis taken courtesy of National Archaeological Museum,
December 2011

making themselves subject to the designs of others while handing away the opportunity to fashion themselves.

In the drive to fight against those two points of alienation—to turn mechanised labour into a deliberate, conscious crafting of the self, Palmer signalled to the un-mechanised horizontal loom. ‘The key to the matter is the loom’, she declared.⁵⁶ She exhorted women of her class to acquire one and learn to use it. By weaving, they would recover the dignity of labour. They would ‘enlarge [their] consciousness through the development of [their] own creative capacity’.⁵⁷ Moreover, their manual labour would also serve effectively to boycott the French fashion industry towards an end of silencing the textile machines that broke the backs of alienated workers. Concurrently it would bolster the Greek economy, contributing thus to the creation of a Greek-centred way of life.

This last point contained the germ of Palmer’s idea of how urban Greek women’s experiments in weaving would alter the destiny of Greece to claim the *nike* she referred to at the beginning of her talk. Her idea aligned craft with Hellenism, and Hellenism with other cosmopolitan searches for indigenous models that revolted against modern temporal ideas stranding individuals at the cutting edge of perennially ruptured time. It suggested a way of anchoring a swiftly passing present in time-tested, if endangered practices inherited from the past. To become Greek-worn, she insisted, was distinct from following Greek-styled trends. It did not mean duplicating a Greek look, whether Palmer’s own or any Greek style promoted as yet another fashion.

Let me pause to take a closer look at the Hellenic idea Palmer was promoting in her effort to convince Greek women to make their own clothes. Where exactly did the Hellenicity of her notion of women’s hand-made dresses inhere? The idea was multi-faceted. On the matter of style, Palmer concentrated on chronologically persistent dress lines. She reminded her audience that looms produce fabric with straight lines. Generations of women through ‘three, four thousand years’ of Greek history had respected those straight lines. As examples she pointed anadromically to the representation of women in ancient Greek art wearing the *chiton*, *peplos*, and *himation*, all made of uncut, unconstructed, hand-woven cloth. The look of their dresses was airy and transparent because ancient Greek artists loved to depict women’s nearly bare bodies as if in endless summertime. A millennium nearer to the present world, Byzantine empresses and saints, while dressed in heavier, more layered clothing than the archaic models, as if facing an endless winter (Palmer explained this by pointing to colder climatic conditions and different standard of modesty), nevertheless modelled tunics with unchanged lines. In her determination of a Greek style, Palmer concluded that the unchanging variable was an appreciation of uncut, straight-lined woven cloth; in this Byzantine women were as ‘classical’⁵⁸ as the ancients.

Hellenism in Palmer’s advocacy of the loom also signified resistance to uprooting by externally imposed passing fashions. It mattered that

she contrasted the Greek with the French, in this case specifically Jewish fashion designers and manufacturers in France. Using the populist rhetoric of anti-Semitism of her era, a language cultivated and reinforced as a sign of international conspiracy by members of Palmer's own American patrician intellectual class⁵⁹—and perhaps a means by which Palmer could deflect some of her own alien standing in her appeal to her Greek audience—Palmer tried to convince Greek women that the French 'mode' they mindlessly consumed undermined their national interests because it was promoted by Jews. As a people 'without a homeland. . . [or] nationality',⁶⁰ she argued, Jews felt no allegiance to the Greek homeland, and so effectively worked to displace women's ties to Greece—to disassociate Greek women from their native traditions of dress just so that they would buy French products.

Against this alleged geographical and temporal uprooting, Palmer posed a form of resistance that reclaimed both a national allegiance and classical timelessness. She advanced a notion of the Greek conflating the ethnic-national existing in time and space and the Hellenic idea that superseded both. It was 'Greek and classical' (Ελληνικό και [. . .] κλασικό):⁶¹ at once ethnically specifically, historically Greek, and universal and timeless. To become Greek-worn, she insisted, was distinct from following Greek-styled trends. It did not mean duplicating a Greek *mode*, whether Palmer's own or any Greek style promoted as yet another European fashion. That, she argued, would be un-Greek. The patriotically Greek thing to do was to become immune to the pressures of perpetually changing fashions by weaving and assembling clothes 'classically' against changing times.

It is instructive to compare Palmer's advocacy of weaving to Gandhi's introduction of *khadi* to the Indian peninsula, the movement to hand-spin and weave home-grown cotton threads as part of the national freedom movement against British colonialism. Palmer's attention to the loom was not unrelated to Gandhi's advocacy of the spinning wheel as a tool for India's economic and political liberation. It happened almost at the same moment (Gandhi's call for *khadi* came in 1920), and the Oxford-educated Gandhi had read the same books as Palmer.⁶² He carried similar ideas from the West into his adopted Eastern home. His arguments stood on the same philosophical underpinnings of the dignity of human labour and the political importance of self-reliance when he argued that everyone, rich and poor, should make and wear simple clothes of home-spun threads. But Gandhi directly linked the spinning wheel to the movement for Indian independence from overt British colonisation. He challenged people of all classes in India to adopt the practices of the lower classes in order to make spinning both a tool to boycott Britain's marketing of machine-produced textiles and a sign of Indian solidarity. Although unsuccessful in his drive to lead a revolution in home spinning, he succeeded in branding himself as the leader of his people and the spinning wheel as a symbol of Indian independence from British colonialism.

Palmer, in contrast, called the members of a narrowly upper-class urban audience to arm themselves against an invisible force of domination. Most women of Athens did not count British machine-made textiles or French designs or Jewish designers or merchants to be subjugating forces. Their enemies were the Ottoman Turks, a power identified with a four-hundred-year historical occupation of Greek people and their lands. The present conditions of war between the Greek army and Turkish nationalist rebels concentrated their attention even more closely on that hostility. Over the triumphant news of the Greek army's occupation of Asia Minor (and the widespread belief that European Allies were supporting Greece's intervention), people could barely hear the call to arms against western European crypto-colonialism led by the Greek-styled Eva Palmer, whose cross-dressing into Greek antiquity never let them forget her foreign distinctiveness.

Even more elusive were the strains of Hellenism running through Palmer's message. As mentioned above, hers was a Nietzschean reading of the Greeks stipulating that a Hellenic orientation should be critical of modern life; it should not make people feel good about themselves. How many women in her audience could parse the distinction in her emphasis between Greek dress as a process and an objectified style or form? Who could tread the fine line she insisted on drawing between replication and duplication of ancient designs? In any case, how many people believed that a change in dress was an effective step to social and political reform,⁶³ or even that it was possible to dismantle the structures and substructures delivering fashion to contemporary Greek women? Finally what urban woman who had left village life a few steps behind, felt the urge to return to a labour-intensive practice requiring observation, imagination, skill, endless trial and error, and the noisy, rhythmical threading, shuttling, shedding, picking, beating up, taking up and letting off, raising and lowering of the loom—to achieve a Greek *nike* as elusive as the flight of the Nike of Samothrace on the Daru staircase?

Conclusions

The moment was not yet in sight in 1921 when the picture of the Greek-worn Eva Palmer Sikelianos working her loom would become a museum icon of Greek national culture⁶⁴—an image, I would note, entirely missing the emphasis on process that made the loom the 'key' to Palmer's life's work. In the decade that followed, just a few upper-class women brought looms into their homes to make weaving a regular practice.⁶⁵ These women included Angeliki Hadjimihali, a trained folklorist who wrote ethnographies and tirelessly advocated for the preservation and exhibition of disappearing Greek crafts; Anna Karamani, Angelos Sikelianos's future second wife; Muriel Noel, an American student of Eva in Athens who moved to Cairo to teach native Egyptians their traditional crafts,⁶⁶ using a Greek horizontal loom re-functioned with loom weights,⁶⁷ and Mary Crovatt

Hambidge, another American, who discovered weaving at the Υφαντουργείο S.E.N., a workshop on 38 Amalias Street in operation from 1874 to the present day. Hambidge stayed for a year to study weaving with Palmer,⁶⁸ before returning to the United States to sell her creations in upscale shops in New York City. Eventually she set up an artist residency programme in the mountains of northern Georgia to encourage young women to relearn American handicrafts. The Hambidge Residency Program at Rabun Gap is still in existence. Palmer's Greek and American associates may have sensed the international value of their artistry when Palmer won a gold medal at the International Exposition of Decorative Arts in Paris in 1926 for a dress she had woven during the first years of her marriage.⁶⁹ Against urbanisation and industrialisation, they continued to work to enhance the prestige of handicrafts as expressions of a living Greek spirit. In other words, Palmer and a few women in her circle of friends 'remounted the current' of traditions they themselves had a hand in shaping.

Palmer asked women and men of her day to live in the presence of the Greeks: not of the fragments of their irrevocably lost world but of the arts of living that later generations received from them. She acted according to this idea: that the processes by which the ancients had shaped their lives could be replicated so that the moderns would learn how to live more freely. Her deliberate materialisation of a Greek life pushed against the received framework of Hellenism. It mixed notions of craft, the deliberate fashioning and display of self, and indigenous traditions with Hellenism, a cultural ideal conventionally associated with timeless artistic styles and ideas, on the one hand, and disciplined philological and archaeological study, on the other hand.

Careful consideration of Palmer's untimely inhabitation of the Greeks helps to enrich the scope of classical reception studies. Her replication of the processes of Greek living in her daily habits creates discomfort because it locates the classical in the realm of the quotidian, where both the Greek idea and its materialisation in Palmer's conduct seem temporally out of joint. Yet, even as it brings into view the alternative approaches of eccentric non-experts who sought to infuse fragments of antiquity with new life, it also serves as a reminder that a Greek style was perpetually recreated in diverse realms of the everyday—housing, furnishing, decoration, dress, eating, and drinking—where people sought to attach signs to things in order to mark their distinctiveness and position in the world.⁷⁰ Eva Palmer's Hellenomania reminds us that it is worth studying 'Hellenic enthusiasm' in everyday materials and processes, where the untimeliness of its appearance challenges our sense of both what is classical and why it matters.

Acknowledgements

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Modern Expression: Costume Design in the Delphi Productions of Eva Palmer Sikelianos' delivered at the Modern Greek Studies Association Symposium at Yale University in October 2007. The influences of Hart's work are direct in my discussion of the costuming of the Aeschylean Ocean figures, and radiate more broadly in what I have learned from her generous sharing of expert analysis of Palmer's weaving, cloth, clothing design, and costuming. My debt extends also to Nicoletta Momigliano for her work organising the workshop on Hellenomania in Athens in 2014 and this follow-up volume; Eleni Sikelianos for her continuous support; interlocutors Kostis Kourelis; Éva Kocziszký, organiser of the Archaeology and Imagination Focus Group at the Collegium Budapest, Institute for Advanced Study; Dimitris Tziovas, organiser of Re-Imagining the Past: Antiquity and Modern Greek Culture Conference at the University of Birmingham; Camilla MacKay and Gonda Van Steen, who organised lectures at Bryn Mawr College and the University of Florida, respectively; Susan Neill, Vice President of Collections and Exhibitions of the Atlanta History Center, where Mary Hambidge's papers are held; and my colleagues Kathryn Babayan, Natalie Bakopoulos, Netta Berlin, Ruth Caston, Vassilis Lambropoulos, Despina Margomenou, Peggy McCracken, Yopie Prins, Francesca Schironi, Laurie Talalay, and Liz Wingrove.

Notes

- 1 Momigliano (2013) 38.
- 2 Lefebvre (1987) 9.
- 3 Koda (2003) 11.
- 4 Koda (2003) 18.
- 5 Lefebvre (1987) 9.
- 6 Palmer's work on the actual festivals began in the summer of 1924 and ended with the second festival of 1930; but she continued to advocate for the realisation of Sikelianos's Delphic Idea for the remainder of her time in Greece and after she left for America in August 1933 in a failed attempt to raise funds to realise the Idea.
- 7 The photo 'Lillian Gish in Delphos Dress' is widely available on the Internet. See for example the website Author Pictures at Lebrecht (2015).
- 8 Koda (2003) 19. The himation is a rectangular piece of cloth of heavier fibres worn as a cape or shawl.
- 9 Payne (1962) 102.
- 10 Payne (1962) 102, quoting an actress who worked with Palmer.
- 11 DeJean (1989) 23–5, 285ff.
- 12 Leontis (2013). The full elaboration is in my cultural biography of Eva Palmer Sikelianos, which is in preparation.
- 13 See Sikelianos Eleni, 'From *Delphi*, 1927' in this volume.

- 14 Cooper Albright (2007) 169. Cooper Albright actually uses the phrase to draw attention to Palmer's disinterest in recovering historical accuracy.
- 15 See Leontis (2015).
- 16 Palmer-Sikelianos (1993) 49.
- 17 Sikelianou (2005) 42. All translations from Greek in this chapter are my own.
- 18 Palmer-Sikelianos (1993) 113.
- 19 Palmer-Sikelianos (1993) 108.
- 20 Palmer-Sikelianos (1993) 109 here and following.
- 21 Palmer-Sikelianos (1993) 108.
- 22 Palmer-Sikelianos (1993) 218.
- 23 Palmer-Sikelianos (1993) 219.
- 24 Palmer-Sikelianos (1993) 219.
- 25 Palmer-Sikelianos (1993) 219.
- 26 Palmer-Sikelianos (1993) 219.
- 27 Palmer-Sikelianos (1993) 219.
- 28 Sikelianou (2005) 44.
- 29 Sikelianou (2005) 44.
- 30 Sikelianou (2005) 45: 'αυτή η τέχνη είναι [. . .] πειραματική'.
- 31 BMHA Eva Sikelianou Papers189/26, Letter from Eva Palmer Sikelianos to her sister May Suydam Palmer dated 17–30 September, no year, with a return address given as Upper Agoriani Parnassos. The letter is in a file marked 'letters of members of the Palmer family 1904–1919' (επιστολές μελών της οικογένειας Palmer 1904–1919).
- 32 Palmer-Sikelianos (1993) 76.
- 33 Sikelianou (2005) 70–1.
- 34 Crowfoot (2004) 6.
- 35 Crowfoot (2004) 8.
- 36 Crowfoot (2004) 11.
- 37 See 'Recreating the Vestal Virgin Hairstyle' (2009) for examples of experimental replications operating like Palmer's in the margins of the discipline of classical studies and using, in their words, 'reverse engineering' to follow the 'internal logic' of a lost process and bring it back 'to life'.
- 38 Carrell (1992) 4.
- 39 Carrell (1992) 4.
- 40 Smith (2000) 166.
- 41 Smith (2000) 18.
- 42 Palmer-Sikelianos (1993) 108.
- 43 Thucydides History, 1.22.1.
- 44 Harrison and Murray (1912) 12, my emphasis.

- 45 Wagner (1895) 155–6.
- 46 Freeman (2010) ix–xiv.
- 47 I show this in detail in Chapters 2 and 3 of my book-length biography of Palmer.
- 48 Her phrase, ‘the absolute right of each person [. . .] to choose whatever is right for his/her soul’ is most representative of her idea of freedom as an individual right of choice, something she claimed to have inherited from her father. See Palmer-Sikelianos (1993) 72.
- 49 Zamir (1981) 87.
- 50 Hadley (1987) 658. Letter written on 13 May 1923 by Mary Berenson, an acquaintance of Palmer’s in their youth, to Isabella Stewart Gardner. Berenson, who saw the then forty-nine-year-old Eva Palmer while traveling in Greece, reported that Palmer was ‘still beautiful’.
- 51 Sikelianou (2005) is a publication of the latter talk.
- 52 Nirvanas (2005) 21.
- 53 Sikelianou (2005) 32 and 33.
- 54 Sikelianou (2005) 33.
- 55 See Triggs (1902) 1219ff. on the ‘two main truths’ of the ‘Gospel of Labor’.
- 56 Sikelianou (2005) 40.
- 57 Palmer-Sikelianos (1995) 76.
- 58 Sikelianou (2005) 37.
- 59 Sorin (1995) 53.
- 60 Sikelianou (2005) 38.
- 61 Sikelianou (2005) 37.
- 62 The bibliography on Gandhi’s readings in Ruskin is substantial. A good starting point is McLaughlin (1974).
- 63 Rowbotham (2010) 43, quoting the father of suffragist Margery Corbet Ashby: ‘If you want to change anything else, do not reform your clothes’.
- 64 The framed clipping of a newspaper article with the bold-printed headline ARTIST OF THE LOOM and a picture of Eva Sikelianos at her Greek horizontal loom hangs on the wall above her loom in the Angelos and Eva Sikelianos Museum at Delphi.
- 65 One urban weaver was Anna Karamani, who would become Anna Sikelianou, Angelos Sikelianos’s second wife. People in Athens have related to me how they would see her weaving when they passed her home in the exclusive neighbourhood of Kolonaki.
- 66 AHC MH-JH Box 5 Folder 7 Letter Muriel Noel to Mary Hambidge April 21, 1921: ‘My scheme for the Society for the Preservation of Old Egyptian Crafts not yet formed but thinks it would include weaving, pottery, baskets, copper and brass work, etc.’. On another occasion Noel expressed frustration on ‘see[ing] the natives wearing cheap turbans woven with the commonest Swedish designs. [. . .] I feel someone ought to study the lost weaving before it becomes a lost art’. See Alvic (2001) 98, quoting letter Muriel Noel to Mary

- Hambidge 28 March 1921, from the Jay and Mary Crovatt Hambidge Papers, Smithsonian Archives of American Art.
- 67 AHC MH-JH Box 5 Folder 7 Letter Muriel Noel to Mary Hambidge 20 May 1921: 'I think I may get a Greek one [loom] made in Athens by the man who made your[s] and have it adapted for using loom weights'.
- 68 AHC MH-JH Papers Box 5 Folder 7 Letter Muriel Noel to Mary Hambidge 21 April 1921: 'Please give my kindest regards to Madame Siklianou (sic). You are lucky to have her as a teacher'.
- 69 Remington (1927) 282.
- 70 See Lefebvre (1987) for an outline of the history of the procedures of signification and legitimation that have shaped the 'everyday'.

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From *Delphi*, 1927

Eleni Sikelianos

This is an excerpt from a project at its very beginning stages, and is thus to a large extent still improvisatory. In it, I am rummaging around in family history, looking for clues to human nature and the nature of family ties. These particular threads lead us through radical knots of free-thinkers trying to create utopian nodes in the quickly industrialising early twentieth-century world. My great grandparents, the American theater director Eva Palmer Sikelianos, and the Greek poet Angelos Sikelianos, were among those with a vision of utopia knocking around in their brains. Like many artists of their time, they turned to ancient Greece as an antidote to their contemporary poisons. They sought to revive the ancient festivities at Delphi, believing such a gathering could lead to a campus/corpus of world peace. After diligently studying ancient costumes, body gestures (as manifested on pottery and in friezes: see Figure 11.1), Byzantine music, and more, my great grandparents put on the first Delphic Festival in 1927. There were only to be two (the second taking place in 1930), as political forces and personal fortunes threw up snares along the way. My great grandmother exhausted her fortune, rumblings of a second world war intervened, and the Red Scare left her visa-less and stalled in New York.

I have written two other family histories, both hybrid in form, one devoted to my drug-addled, homeless father (Eva and Angelos's grandson) and one to my distaff grandmother, a burlesque dancer on the nightclub circuit in mid-century America. Each took ten years to manifest as a book, and I envision as much for this project, which will take as its centrifugal force a scrap of archival film, shot by the Gaziadis brothers, of the 1927 Delphic Festival and its production of *Prometheus Bound*. The heart of this project is sound and motion—the film, extended with other film footage, will be the backdrop for speakers, singers, and dancers, in an extended contemplation of itinerancy, weaving, force, measure, and measurelessness.

Among many other things, this part of my family history invites me to consider the ways the 'ancient metaphorical universe' of weaving continues to be a metaphor for relationships between text and textile, public and private, male and female, story and song.¹ At some point, we started from scratch, back in the wool-gathering stage of the human imagination; we cleaned something up, we spun it, we wove the various parts together and made a story, the story frayed, we reweave and patched it, extended it, it frayed again . . . Thus, we see the crossing and raveling of family lines, the remembering and forgetting



Figure 11.1 Detail of costume with octopus decoration from the 1927 Delphic Festival production of *Prometheus Bound*, Eva and Angelos Sikelianos Museum, Delphi

Source: Photograph by Laird Hunt

of stories, even strands of genocides and repopulations, of ecological disasters and rehabilitation of ecosystems. At what point will the threads be too frayed to gather? At what point in the weaving can we see utopia? Can we still make a clearing for that no-place in the modern mind, amidst our massive Sixth Extinction, growing rifts in resource distribution, and the enduring by-products of our contemporary pursuit of happiness? In Aeschylus's *Prometheus Bound*, the hero is famously chained to a rock by the character of Force (Figure 11.2).

What are we chained to? What is our current mountain of power made of? Something akin to the great gyres of plastic found in our oceans? The Great



Figure 11.2 Still from 1927 production of *Prometheus Bound*, Delphi

Source: Courtesy Jerome Robbins Dance Division, New York Public Library of the Performing Arts

Pacific trash vortex is estimated to be between 700,000 and 15,000,000 square miles, a non-organismal neustonic aggregation of plastics and chemical sludge that wandered in on ocean currents. As you know, these polymers do not degrade; ‘in adamantine bonds infrangible’, they will be around for a long, long time.² Will these be the ancient remnants of our world, when our current time grows old (Figures 11.3–11.4)?

✱

The following excerpt from my multi-media work (available via the British School at Athens YouTube channel at <http://youtu.be/GqClgvvnLIQ>) truncates the opening and leaps to notions of measure and measurelessness as manifested in this family line. On the audio file, you will hear songwriter Roger Green improvising music for the text. I hope stills from the film footage will give a fleeting sense of the visuals. All is subject to change.

From Scene I

Stage:

Table, stage left, facing audience. This is where the Me sits.

Table, stage right, facing table at stage left. This is where the Interlocutor/Letter Reader sits.

Expanse between them, which is where film, pictures and words are shown, and later, where the mountain of power scene takes place.



Figure 11.3 Photo from Morocco: along the road from Casablanca to Half Moon

Source: Photograph by Laird Hunt



Figure 11.4 Photo from Morocco: on the beach near Half Moon

Source: Photograph by Laird Hunt

[Voice Over]

Imagine a dark stone house on a hill in the countryside in a field of tawny grasses. The scent of wild thyme and rich dirt in dry air.

Imagine below it an open-air theater, carved into the belly of the hill and lovingly lined with limestone cut from the nearby mountainside. Imagine thousands of people gathering, animating the air. A man steps on stage with an instrument and begins to sing.

And then the voice goes out. The people disappear. An invading army comes in and smashes some stones.

Then it is just a few stragglers or squatters, wandering through.

Light is there, scrubbing the stones; dark is there, remineralizing the bones. But the light has lacked bodies to drape itself across; so too the night. In this way, years go by.

Imagine now the dark house as it lights up.

Move the curtains away from the window.

Remove the obstacles blocking light's path. Shadowy images, like a snake's skin, or a scent, or a mist, detach from things and drift off.

The stones begin to take on color, bodies appear; they shed sound from their surfaces and depths, it skids through air; and there are ears to hear it and eyes to see it. (Figure 11.5)



Figure 11.5 Still from 1927 production of *Prometheus Bound*, Delphi

Source: Courtesy Jerome Robbins Dance Division, New York Public Library of the Performing Arts

[Live voice (the Me)]

In 1927, my great grandparents undertook to revive the Delphic festivals, after a nearly 2,000 year hiatus. They would put on a play, games, exhibit local weaving and embroidery. They would bring strangers and friends and families together and set them round the stone seats. Thus would an Idea take root; in this idea, everyone has enough to eat.

Eva, my great grandmother, was 53. My great grandfather, the Poet. Their son, my grandfather, Glafkos, was 17 years old. Bored out of his mind, and alone, he often walked along the *archaio monopati* from Delphi (the same track ancient worshippers used to walk) to the village of Agoriani. This may be the oldest footpath in the world.

You find the path by scrambling around past some goat pens up above Delphi's cemetery. If you go down to the cemetery, across the street from the museum devoted to my great grandparents' efforts (housed in the little villa my great grandmother had built), enter the cemetery gates (walk past my great grandmother's grave), and hang out over the edge, you'll see the ancient Delphic theater. The town itself used to be on top of the ancient site, but archeologists moved all the modern people over about a mile, so they could keep digging.

What they found there was the belly button of the world. Gazed on too long, it begins to grow fillets that stretch back on themselves.

I was in Delphi for a month, and had been hiking up the steep path to Kroki, a valley on the way to Agoriani, nearly every day. The stones on the first stretch of path are pleasing rectangles, polished smooth from millennia of feet sweeping over them. Dionysian revelers would have perhaps hardly noticed their breathlessness as they switchbacked steeply up the mountain. Along this path I encountered very little that was living, but once a tortoise, the same smooth grey of the *kalderimi* path stones, with engorged ticks hanging off its backside, and once a young man with stones in his hands training for the race to Marathon. Never an Albanian murderer. I will tell one day of the *klarino* player and his family that I once found feasting on wild capers and roast lamb in the valley at the top of this first ascent.

I once tried to hike to Agoriani with my brother Joe. I don't think it's very far, but we never made it. We are a slow family.

The nymphs made this trek by torchlight in the autumn.

[Audio, two voices]

[together]

Wandering a mountainside lost to all worlds.
 The tall grasses brushing the backs of our hands.
 Hands invisible in
 The pitch-black, the voiceless
 night
 Our feet asleep but leading us on.

[voice 1]

Toward what?

[voice 2]

The end of all human pain

[end audio]

[Live voice (the Me)]

That is what my grandfather, Glafkos, must have felt like.
 Wandering the hillsides and down to the sea while his parents labored, 'titanically striving' toward their vision of world peace.
 Toward a world full of human ideas and human things
 The gods wrested out of their party clothes

I was in Delphi trying to understand what my great grandparents were up to. Why my grandfather called his father *a peacock*! Why he so seldom spoke, had a sense of self and Spartan right-use notion of objects. Why his son, my father, ran wild and fucked up his life. From what font does my family folly rise?

I'll make this little myth for you. This thyrsus.
 That's a word that rattles with pleasure when you spend it.
 [. . .]

In the play my great grandparents put on at Delphi, 1927, Io wanders the world in anapest.

[Letter Reader]

What wanders:
 The sun around the Milky Way
 (average velocity 828,000 KM per hour, still
 it takes 230 million years to get around)
 The earth around the sun
 The moon across the sky
 And on the moon?

[Song]

How do you measure from here to the corner store? Is it 16 minutes or six hours? What bright angles entail?
 Dog's tail throwing off sparks, woof/warp
 When so-and-so built the labyrinth was it to cover his tracks? *Going out to the corner to buy some milk, Icarus, be right back!*
That was the flying lesson.
 Between the sun and home anything can happen.



Figure 11.6 Still from 1927 production of *Prometheus Bound*, Delphi

Source: Courtesy Jerome Robbins Dance Division, New York Public Library of the Performing Arts

Cut the corner at Lead and West
 Past some scrubdirt, light wind laps our ears
 Expanding mean between me and my dad and him and his father and his
 sister and his brother
 Take this ancient shirt off, father-mother
And the bare arms beat up and down in air, and lacking oarage
 Between me and my grandmother and her ancestor
 A few missing bodies; forage in the dark for threads
 Expand the angle between me and my sister and my brother and my dad
 and our mothers
 Fill it with booze light
 The needle that flies toward the moon to pierce it
 Between the brain and the tree we begin to think, 'I am either wrong, or being
 wronged'
 Who or what *came gliding down from Heaven, stood on earth, broke up the shade*
 and looked. What words
 look like measure?
 Lament, latent, parallel, acute, adjacent, obtuse, moon
 I am seeking measure and finding mess
 Recidivism, metamorphosis, intent
 Lament
 does not look but sounds like mess,
 hymn, heifer, life,
 open-jawed, obtuse, hawing

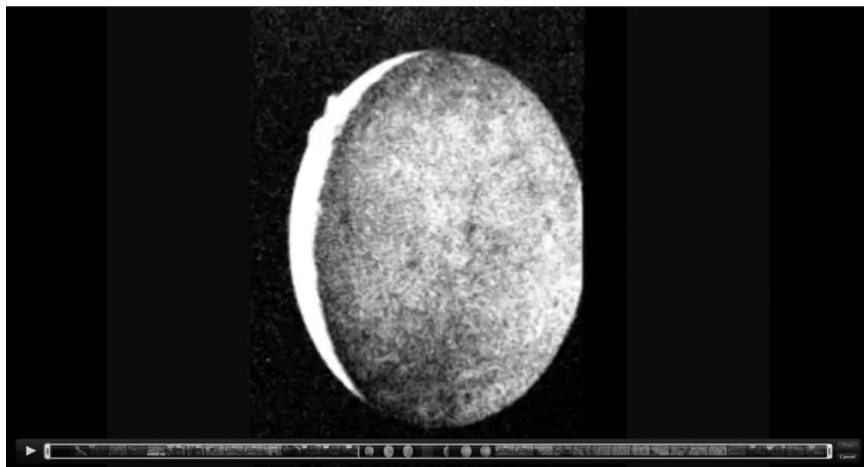


Figure 11.7 Still from 'Jupiter's Moon, Io'

Source: https://archive.org/details/Jupiter_Io_Moon_
(open source images), footage from NASA

toward the back-side of the body
 ripped at the homeless edges
 with no socialization to smooth the skin by
 When did we start needing that? (Schooling.)
 —the dirt trails shrinking toward one African ant-mother—she didn't need
 schooling—
 And one more thing
 with the weight and mood of fire
 shh-hh-shh
 here comes a father up through the dead dark
 light a match
 (burned my mouth on it)
 got a fire but no smokes to bright this place
 what faces match your face
 feet on pavement tap-tap-tapping to the corner store for cigarettes
 to the pawn shop to hawk the guitar and buy dope

What came looping round us through the years
 Golden threadlight
 In the kitchen, regret
 Dark rope
 Loping toward us measureless
 In corner light
 Joy cuts corners like light
 Sorrow, shadowy, does not

But sometimes light leaps there, guts us
 Measure and
 Measurelessness

[Dancers with strings make a Jacob's ladder with their bodies]

[Lights out]

Credits:

Voice: Anne Waldman.

Music and singing: Roger Green.

Notes

1 Scheid and Svenbro (1996) 111.

2 Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound*, G. M. Cookson translation, <http://classics.mit.edu/Aeschylus/prometheus.html>. Accessed 14 March 2015. In addition to Aeschylus, my work below also alludes to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Roubaud (2008).

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Aphroditê kinêmatographikê: Venus' varieties and vicissitudes

Martin M. Winkler

Aphrodite or Venus was the most beautiful of all goddesses and represented ideal and irresistible female attractiveness. She is still the standard to measure beauty today. Archaeologists and art historians routinely call statues of nude women by her name. There is a classical precedent for such a tradition, for Clement of Alexandria made the analogy of nude female statues with statues of Aphrodite practically canonical.¹

The *Venus de Milo*, which should really be called the *Aphrodite of Melos*, may be the best-known ancient statue of all. It is now dated to the late first century BC but had previously been attributed to Praxiteles, one of the most famous Greek sculptors of the classical era.² The *Venus de Milo* has appeared on screen in all manner of context and has become a staple of film history. The same is true for the goddess herself. Instances range from mainstream silent cinema, as with *The American Venus* (1926), a modern comedy now lost, or the time-travel comedy *Vamping Venus* (1928), to soft-core exploitation such as *Aphrodite* (1982), based on the 1896 novel by Pierre Louÿs, and worse. She is everywhere.³ In *The Triumph of Venus* (1918) she even fell in love with a sculptor—on the very island of Milo!

From *Venus de Milo* to *Venus de Harlow* and beyond

The cinema duly took up a perspective comparable to Clement's. Beautiful actresses are modern metamorphoses of the goddess. Crossing time, space, and language barriers, Aphrodite-Venus comes down to earth and assumes human shape. Ideal beauty never dies. Ruth Waterbury, a Hollywood journalist who wrote about the dream factory for over fifty years and who was the editor of *Photoplay* and *Silver Screen* magazines, provides us with a direct link between Hollywood and the realm of the classical gods. For a 1928 issue of *Photoplay* she wrote a short article titled 'Olympus Moves to Hollywood'.⁴ Its sub-head reads: 'The startling discovery that measurement for measurement movie gods and goddesses are beautiful as the ancient ones of Greece'. This article is downright charming in its cultural advocacy. Waterbury begins with a forceful assertion: 'HOLLYWOOD is the world's

new Olympus. Hollywood is bringing back the glory that was Greece'. This is the result:

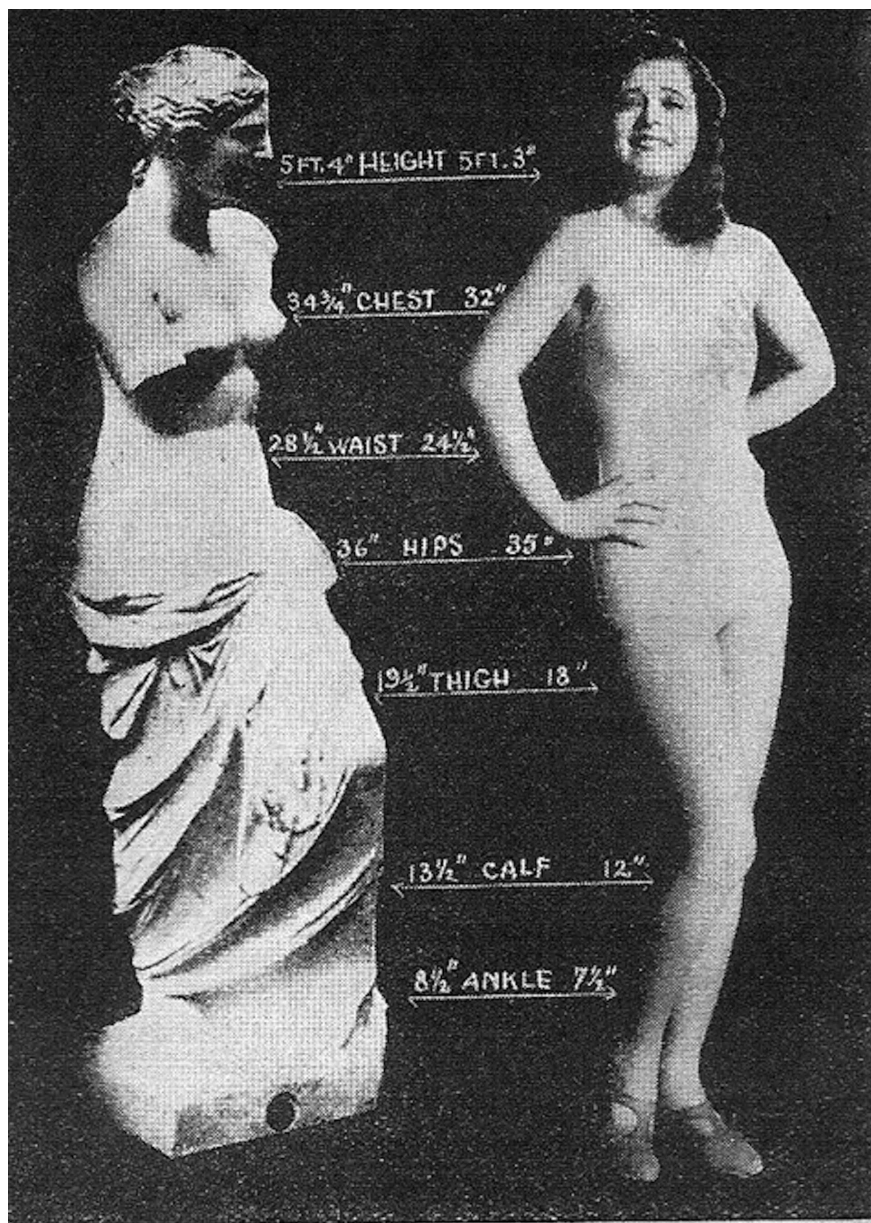
All over the world rose temples of the motion picture where the people went to worship the gods of Hollywood. And the standards rose higher and higher until these modern living gods [. . .] had to be flawless indeed.

Waterbury then tells her readers that *Photoplay* took the measurements of dozens of male and female stars. I omit what she reports on Hollywood's Apollonian men and concentrate only on the ladies. The *Photoplay* beauty detectives discovered hardly any differences between them and their ancient ideal in height, chest, feet, or weight. Closest to classical perfection is Joan Crawford: 'Joan varies from Venus by a one-quarter inch loss around the chest, an inch loss through the hips, a half-inch loss in both ankle and calf'. But this is not a problem, for camera trickery can disguise or otherwise make up for the differences. Waterbury concludes with a little pun: 'THUS do the gods of the new Olympus compare with those of the old [. . .]. Art often lies but figures don't'.⁵

Waterbury's article is accompanied by photographs of the *Belvedere Apollo* and the *Venus de Milo*. Both are overlaid with dotted lines to show how closely the modern corresponds with the classical. The first image is of Joan Crawford in *Venus de Milo* pose, her lower arms and hands hardly visible and her leg posture imitating the statue's. The caption reads: 'Venus rising from the movies. Just a modern American girl, but Joan Crawford, to a quarter inch, approximated [*sic*] the figure of the ancient goddess of love and beauty'. The proof is there as well. A box next to the photo lists 'Venus Measurements' in two columns: 'Early Greek' and 'Modern Hollywood'. QED.⁶ The photo of Joan appears in a version that leaves out a small replica of her ancient model atop a classicising column.⁷ But we fully understand, anyway. The terminology of early Italian cinema is appropriate here: each female and male film star, each *diva* and each *divo*, is an incarnation of an ancient divinity. Even the word *star* refers us to the heavens, to which no mountain in the classical world is closer than Olympus.

Our female film stars are regularly called love goddesses or sex goddesses. They function as modern incarnations of Aphrodite, the goddess of love and sexuality in all its aspects. Parker Tyler, pioneering historian of the subject in the cinema and a poet and novelist as well, once confessed: 'I think of Hollywood actors and actresses as gods and goddesses in the Greek sense'.⁸ Greta Garbo is a case in point. The title of at least one book about her is apt: *The Divine Garbo*.⁹ Garbo's beauty prompted her frequent co-star and lover John Gilbert to say: 'She is like a statue. There is something eternal about her'.¹⁰

The *Venus de Milo* has been linked to beautiful and sexy actresses throughout film history. Numerous actresses have been compared to this particular Venus. An article about Clara Bow, Hollywood's 'It Girl', juxtaposed the statue and the actress, arms akimbo but otherwise in similar posture, and compared the measurements of both. The inevitable conclusion: 'Antique and Modern "IT"' (Figure 12.1). In the unlikely case, gentle reader, that you did not know: *It* means *sex*



Antique and Modern "IT", Venus and Clara Bow

Figure 12.1 The 'It' Girl as modern Venus

Source: Clipping from unidentified magazine. Author's collection.

appeal. Gloria Swanson posed next to our statue in a glamour shot in 1922.¹¹ In a promotional gag photograph for *College* (1927), Buster Keaton cleverly parodied the Venus craze by posing as a living statue, draped in a white sheet and with arms invisible but wearing his customary hat and showing his trademark poker face (Figure 12.2). The film does not contain this or any comparable moment.

A popular American film journal of the 1930s called Jean Harlow the ‘VENUS de HARLOW’ and published a photograph of Venus and Jean to make the point (Figure 12.3). Since the most notable feature of the statue today



Figure 12.2 The *Venus de Keaton*

Source: The William Knight Zewadski Collection

is the loss of her arms, actresses are sometimes shown in a pose in which their arms are partly hidden from view. That of Harlow is a case in point. As with Venus, her one leg is at play, its knee turned forward and slightly inwards, and the curvature of her torso imitates that of the statue. In this photomontage



Figure 12.3 *The Venus de Harlow*

Source: Clipping from unidentified magazine. Author's collection.

the statuette of the *Venus de Milo* stands on a pedestal next to Harlow but is reversed. Harlow's arms, held behind her back, are barely visible. Unlike Venus, she is, of course, not topless. The platinum blond actress, who in 1931 starred in Frank Capra's romantic comedy *Platinum Blonde*, was the subject of a posthumous biography in 1964. It was translated into several languages. Its Portuguese title turned her into a 'Platinum Venus'.¹²

A year after the release of *Platinum Blonde*, Marlene Dietrich was the titular *Blonde Venus* of Josef von Sternberg's melodrama, his fourth film with Dietrich after their sensational *The Blue Angel* (1930). Posters for domestic and international releases of *Blonde Venus* did not miss out on the classical parallel. Dietrich wears a low-slung 'skirt' below a kind of flesh-colored undergarment. Black gloves that nearly reach up to her shoulders make her arms almost invisible. Her body posture is, of course, that of the *Venus de Milo* (Figure 12.4).

Eva Green memorably recreated the statue in Bernardo Bertolucci's *The Dreamers* (2003). By the time she appears as Venus, first stationary and then moving, viewers of the film had been able to sample the actress's Aphrodisian curves in some detail. A white sheet flowing down from low over Green's hips and long black gloves that hide her arms and hands do the trick of transformation. Unlike Dietrich then, Green now is topless (Figure 12.5). The following dialogue with her lover accompanies this Venus' epiphany:

ISABELLE: What sculpture?

MATTHEW: I've always wanted to make love to the *Venus de Milo*.

ISABELLE *advances toward him*: I can't stop you. I've got no arms. *More sensuously*: I can't stop you.

Blond bombshell Brigitte Bardot must not be missing from our gallery of divine beauties. As the title of one of her most famous, and at the time most controversial, films implies, B. B.—pronounce this the French way, and you get the alluring *bébé*—was the ultimate incarnation of womanhood in . . . *And God Created Woman* (1956), directed by her then-husband Roger Vadim. The documentary *Et B. B. créa la femme* ('And B. B. Created Woman', 1996) contains footage from 1958 with a reporter formally introducing Brigitte Bardot and the *Venus de Milo* to each other. 'Take a good look at her', he continues. 'Do you find her pretty?' Her answer: 'Yes, of course'. The reporter adds that, if a contemporary sculptor were to portray Venus, Bardot would be his model because she is the idol, and presumably ideal, of beauty now. Our *bébé* politely demurs. A pre-stardom B. B. had played Nero's wife Poppaea in the Italian farce *Mio figlio Nerone* (1956), and studio publicity had her pose next to a copy of the Esquiline Venus.¹³ Viewers who take a good look at the statue and the actress will no doubt find both pretty. Bardot received her own statue in the Brazilian fishing village of Armação dos Búzios in 1999—not, alas, a very elegant work by local artist Christina Motta—in commemoration of an earlier visit.¹⁴



Figure 12.4 Spanish poster for *Blonde Venus*, with the *Venus de Milo* in attendance

Source: Author's collection



Figure 12.5 Eva Green in *The Dreamers*

Source: Screenshot

Although she never played Venus, Rita Hayworth was popularly referred to as 'goddess of love'. When she played the Muse Terpsichore in the musical-comedy-romance *Down to Earth* (1947), the studio's alliterative advertisement made sure that potential audiences would not overlook her classical beauty: 'The Screen's Most Gloriously Gorgeous Goddess'.¹⁵ A contemporary article by influential music critic Winthrop Sargeant in *LIFE* magazine

was preceded by a full-page colour illustration of Hayworth as Terpsichore, replete with the columns of Mt Olympus up in the clouds. The article's first page shows a photograph of a classical statue with this caption: 'APHRODITE, Greek love goddess, was the predecessor of girls like Rita'. Sargeant then made the analogy specific:

By 1945 at least 6,000 Americans a week were busy writing her poems and prayers, and the armed forces of the most powerful nation on earth were carrying her enshrined image with them into war-battered cities, jungles and typhoons [. . .]. To [future] historians it will be obvious that Rita Hayworth [. . .] was only incidentally a movie actress and a dancer [. . .]. For comparison they will inevitably turn to the goddess Aphrodite [. . .]. [*Down to Earth*] is a ritual in which the great American love goddess re-enacts her perpetual legend [. . .] she is Aphrodite. [. . .] Its [the legend's] supernatural or purely mythological character is attested by the fact that it has nothing whatever to do with real life. The goddess, endowed by a vast priesthood of make-up men, costumers, cameramen and hairdressers with a concentrated allure no real woman could approach, moves through the ritual as its center and goal.

After discussing Americans' readiness to embrace the cult of the love goddess in various incarnations that include Clara Bow, Jean Harlow, Lana Turner, and Betty Grable, Sargeant continues: 'the supreme enactment of her religious rite takes place in the darkened temples of American moviedom'.¹⁶ A promotional photograph shows Rita as Terpsichore next to a life-size copy of the *Venus de Milo*. Ravishing Rita is quoted as saying: 'Golly, any girl would love to be a goddess'.¹⁷

Buxom beauties were naturals to have their picture taken with the *Venus de Milo* or with any other of the goddess's statuary incarnations. In 1957 Jayne Mansfield was photographed with the *Venus de Milo* in the Louvre, the goddess's modern home. One image published by UPI was captioned, in part: 'THE FAMED STATUE DOES NOT APPRECIATE THIS VISION'.¹⁸ (Why ever not?) The German release title of *Screaming Mimi* (1958), a psychological and sexy murder mystery—to put the case generously—starring Anita Ekberg and famous ecdysiast Gypsy Rose Lee, is what we might expect: *Die blonde Venus*. In 1962 Melina Mercouri had a memorable encounter with the *Venus de Milo* as well. In a photograph taken for *LIFE* magazine we see Mercouri laughing, or so it seems, at her fellow Greek. The caption tells us that she is 'dramatically addressing' the statue.¹⁹ Sex symbol Ursula Andress rose, Venus-like, from the waves in *Dr. No* (1962), the first James Bond film. She got to play the goddess herself in *Clash of the Titans* (1981).

Ave, Ava Diva!

Venus' passage from marble—although in reality from clay made to look like marble—to living flesh sets in motion the plot of *One Touch of Venus* (1948).

The film is based, in sadly abbreviated form, on the Broadway musical by Kurt Weill (music), S. J. Perelman (book), and Ogden Nash (lyrics). The musical, in turn, is based on *The Tinted Venus*, the 1885 farcical novel by F. Anstey (nom de plume of Thomas Anstey Guthrie), whose title is inspired by John Gibson's marble statue, discussed by Charlotte Ribeyrol in this volume. A young department-store clerk impulsively kisses a life-size statue of Venus: 'Golly, you're beautiful!' Unexpected thunder and an eerie chord played by strings on the soundtrack alert us to the statue's supernatural awakening. A human hand reaches into the frame and gently pets the clerk, whose back is turned to the statue. The camera recedes, and we see that the statue has become the living Venus. The clerk exclaims: 'You're moving! [. . .] You're talking! You're alive!' Some feeble verbal humor ('Poor mortal! Are you frightened?'—'Only from the toes up') and mild slapstick—the young man faints dead away when Venus calls him to her—follow. Fortunately for viewers, the Venus here come to life is none other than Ava Gardner.

The story behind the scenes of this film is much more fascinating than what appears on the screen. It involves a complex process of transformation, that of Venus' original statue as sculpted for the film into the version that viewers get to look at. In her memoirs Ava Gardner reported that the premise of *One Touch of Venus* was that 'the ancient goddess of love, a naturally amorous type', has been 'imprisoned in a statue of the Anatolian Venus'. Once made flesh, she makes 'everyone's life a comedic hell by falling madly in love' with the young man who has kissed her statue. Gardner herself at the time of production was leading the kind of love life that Venus, whether Anatolian or not, could have led: 'I had a hard enough time with two husbands and one boyfriend. No one darted into bed faster than I did'.²⁰

Italian-American sculptor Joseph Nicolosi was hired to create the goddess's statue.²¹ Nicolosi was a member of the National Sculpture Society, had received several commissions for public sculptures, and was a poet to boot. Gardner continues:

Most Venuses I'd seen in art books were nude or had a magically clinging drape low on the hips, and Mr. Nicolosi had the same idea. Because when I [. . .] appeared modestly clothed in a two-piece bathing suit, he looked at me rather severely and gave a sigh that could have been heard as far away as the Acropolis. [. . .] he got me to change into a more shapely bra.

Gardner realised that she had to make 'the supreme sacrifice' and offered to remove her brassiere. Gardner's 'mythic beauty' even led the studio to publish her measurements 'for the benefit of Greco-Roman scholars'.²² Nicolosi did not fall in love with Gardner or her statue—his wife was present—but he did appreciate Gardner's divine figure: 'Miss Gardner gives an appearance of slenderness but possesses the roundness and fullness in the necessary places which set her apart' from her less curvaceous contemporaries (Figure 12.6). Gardner



Figure 12.6 Behind the scenes of *One Touch of Venus*

Source: The Jerry Murbach Collection

was pleased by the result: 'the final statue looked very nice indeed'. But it was anything but final. 'Then came the explosion', Gardner remembers. The film's producer was evidently not too well-versed in classical art: 'Are you crazy? *Her tits are showing!* How are we gonna put that in a movie?'²³ Gardner comments:

A *nude* statue! Who said anything about nudity? Tits! Didn't anyone tell you that tits aren't allowed in a Hollywood film? It doesn't matter how beautiful they are, it's immoral and indecent. Plus, the goddamn statue has to come to life on screen. Do you want us to be accused of corrupting the whole of America?

As the owner of the offending objects, I sat back and did not say a word. After all, I'd done my bit for the arts. But the poor sculptor, who'd poured his soul into this clay, was shattered. No one had told him they'd wanted a Venus dressed up like Queen Victoria. Finally, another statue was made, this one with me wearing [a] belted-at-the-waist off-the-shoulder gown [. . .] and America's morals survived to fight another day.

There was even a third statue, a much smaller version of Nicolosi's original. This one, eight inches tall and made of clay, was apparently safe to be seen by America at large. It, too, underwent a slight metamorphosis, this one at Gardner's own hands. A studio publicist reports her reaction when it was first shown to her:

She looked it over and laughed. She said, "That's not my figure." And then with a cute smile on her face she pinched off some of the clay from the chest area and stuck it to the rear end. She smoothed it on with her finger and made the fanny bigger. She said, "That's more like *my* ass." I was startled but amused. [. . .] everyone broke into hysterics.²⁴

Several copies of this miniature, done in bronze, were given away to promote the film.

For the benefit of Greco-Roman scholars let it be said that Gardner's assessment of her backside fully conformed to classical conceptions of Venus' proportions. The *Venus de Milo* and virtually all other ancient sculptures of the goddess, to say nothing of Baroque paintings, show that she was far removed from possessing the slenderness to which Nicolosi had objected in modern American women. An ancient Greek expression about her clinches the case: *Aphroditê kallipygos*—'Aphrodite with the beautiful buttocks'.²⁵ Some classical statues even show her looking back and down over her shoulder in obvious admiration of her assets. The film statue's third version apparently had to be modified once again, for Venus' callipygian curves are chastely draped.

As if all these vicissitudes were not enough, one scholar has recently delivered herself of a verdict in the severe style on Nicolosi's second version:

The statue, which bears a passable but not remarkable resemblance to Gardner, is thoroughly indigestible as a veritable antiquity. [. . .] one might expect more in terms of style from a neoclassical sculptor like Nicolosi.²⁶

These comments are on the whole justified. Still, and in spite of its obvious limitations, *One Touch of Venus* remains a noteworthy film, chiefly for Gardner's presence. Certain problems with her mythical beauty continued to be part of the filming process. Her biographer reports:

For most of her scenes Ava wore a chiffon drape, a classic Grecian 'goddess gown' [. . .], the silk material too flimsy to hide the effect of a cold spring on the actress's breasts. Many good takes had to be discarded because of the prominent visibility of her erect nipples, a problem that eventually dissipated after [a] prop man [. . .] was assigned to follow Ava everywhere with a portable heater.²⁷

Tantae molis erat to create, and to guide through various metamorphoses, the perfect goddess in Hollywood. The studio promoted *One Touch of Venus* with, among other images, a photograph of its Grecian Gardner holding a statuette of the *Venus de Milo* and admiringly gazing into the goddess's eyes (Figure 12.7).

In *The Barefoot Contessa* (1954), Joseph L. Mankiewicz's exposé of the dream factory, Gardner plays a young girl who is discovered by Hollywood, has an outwardly glorious career but personal heartbreak, and eventually is killed by her jealous husband. A life-size statue of her in a pose vaguely resembling that of the *Venus de Milo*, at least by way of the position of her legs, decorates her tomb and is a prominent feature throughout the film. In one scene we watch the countess pose next to her statue, virtually finished, in the presence of its sculptor. The director who had made the countess a star wryly comments: 'Wait till they hear about this in Southern California. In six months Beverly Hills will have more statues than orange trees'. The sculpture on view is by Bulgarian artist Assen Peikov. He, Gardner, and the film were the subject of an illustrated article in *LIFE* magazine.²⁸ Gardner appeared on posters for the film in a pose slightly reminiscent of a sculpture as well (Figure 12.8). Peikov found Gardner 'a little square in the shoulders'. Gardner's biographer considered the statue, and presumably Gardner herself, to be 'more goddesslike than her Venus' in the earlier film.²⁹ With statues of herself on film and in reality, Gardner really had a touch of the goddess.

Venus and her statue in court

Aphrodite had encountered statuary problems on the screen before *One Touch of Venus*, but of a radically different sort. The German film *Venus vor Gericht* ('Venus in Court', 1941), directed and written by Hans H. Zerlett, is a remarkable curiosity about a Venus sculpture. On the surface it is a pleasantly light comedy with a few satiric touches, but there are darker undertones.³⁰ The film is set in or around 1930 during the final phase of the Weimar Republic and addresses the question of what does and does not constitute true art according to Nazi ideology. A young sculptor from Berlin is a member of the Nazi



Figure 12.7 Promotional photograph for *One Touch of Venus*

Source: The Jerry Murbach Collection

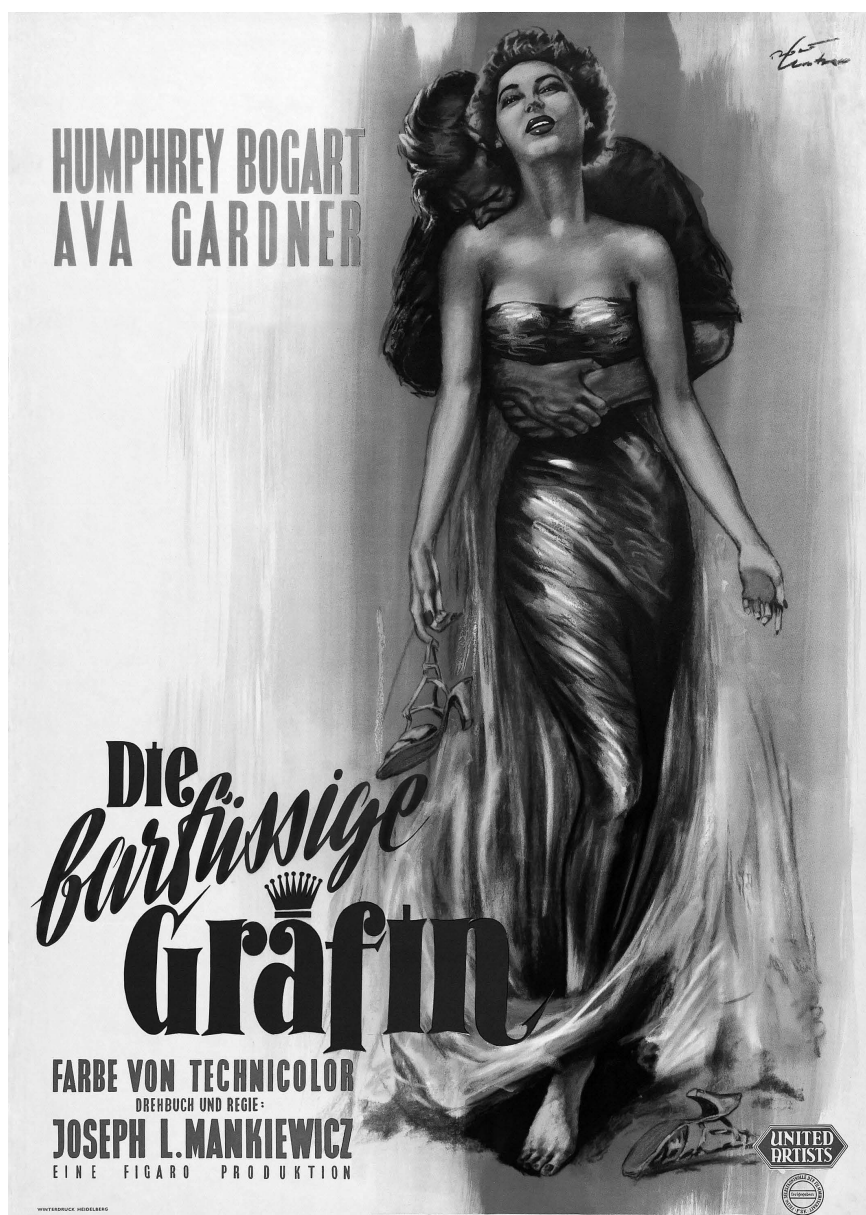


Figure 12.8 German poster for *The Barefoot Contessa*

Source: The Jerry Murbach Collection

Party and has a wholly traditional taste in art. He just cannot bring himself to produce what the contemporary market wants—i.e. the modernist art that Nazis condemned as *entartete Kunst* ('degenerate art'). Such works were often by Jews and became the subject of a now-infamous 1937 exhibition in Munich. So the young artist decides to play a prank on the cultural establishment and to make a statement at the same time. Using ancient marble, he sculpts the head and torso of a classical nude, which he buries in the ground. Upon discovery, experts authenticate it as a genuine Greek antique: 'a masterpiece of ancient art', a lost 'Venus of Corinth by Praxiteles'. How did this great work end up in the ground somewhere in Bavaria, of all places? An easy explanation is at hand: the Romans, who had acquired Greek art *en masse*, brought many such statues with them on their conquests. They eventually buried their treasures when they had to abandon their German territory.

An assimilated Jewish art dealer with connections to Jews in the cultural bureaucracy manages to acquire the statue through middlemen, making a nice profit for himself in the process, and then sells it to the government. The *Venus vom Acker* ('Venus of the Field') becomes a national sensation. The sculptor is disgusted by the whole media circus and reveals the truth. The art dealer, fearing for his profit, and the Minister of Culture who had bought the statue, fearing for his reputation, take the matter to court. There the experts insist on the correctness of their judgement. The most pompous of them, a Dr. Knarre (roughly, 'Dr. Creak'), is a self-confessed 'art critic of international reputation'. Waxing ecstatic about this work by Praxiteles and 'the divine inspiration that created this figure', he pontificates:

Each detail betrays the great master's hand. How tenderly this bosom has been chiseled! How truly accomplished the disposition of the neck! Oh! And the perfect swing of her hips!

Alas, viewers are not informed that what non-fictional art historians call 'the Praxitelean curve' is the distinguishing hallmark of this great master's hand.

The sculptor is running the risk of being convicted of perjury. But his model, who is now married and whose identity he had tried to protect for the sake of her reputation, at the last moment reveals how the sculpture came into existence. The experts are left with egg on their faces. The artist is vindicated. So is his view of what real art should be like, for viewers had heard the following statement when the statue was first discovered: 'Such a one could not show her face these days!' Immediately Zerlett dissolves to the art dealer's gallery, which displays a number of modern sculptures and paintings that spectators are meant to abhor for their non-realist deformity and overall ugliness: degenerate art! At the final fade-out the sculptor and his former model, who has left her philistine husband, are ready for the inevitable happy ending. The art world in the story and the spectators in the theatre have been taught the appropriate lesson about great art and great artists.

The film would be negligible were it not for its evident political aspects. The artist's name, Peter Brake, evokes that of Arno Breker, Nazi Germany's foremost sculptor. Breker was celebrated then and is despised now for his colossal kitsch of pseudo-classical sculptures. Brake, who embodies the Nazis' art ideals, has several Breker-like works in his studio. One of them is a nude crouching Venus.

Brake eventually reveals that his statue had not been intended as a Venus: 'I merely imitated and immortalised the classically beautiful body of a vivacious living girl'. The works of art on view early in the film are in direct contrast to Brake's Germanic Venus, for they are actual pieces of 'degenerate art', confiscated from their owners and loaned to the filmmakers by the Nazi Party. Some of them vanished or were destroyed in World War II; some were excavated and exhibited in Berlin (2010–2012). The film is thus a telling illustration of its time.

Zerlett includes a montage of Berlin nightlife, which does its own thing with Brake's Venus. The music halls of Berlin with all their excesses and decadence are today familiar from Bob Fosse's *Cabaret* (1972), a sensational Broadway musical and then a film, both adapted from Christopher Isherwood's memoirs of his time in Berlin and set around the same time as *Venus vor Gericht*. In Zerlett's film we see Brake's Venus coming alive on a cabaret stage. A nude dancer has assumed the statue's pose, wearing long black gloves and thigh-high black stockings to hide the same parts of her arms and legs that the statue is lacking or not displaying. She begins to dance with great abandon. Soon after, a whole line of Can-Can girls of similar appearance are kicking up their heels below a giant image of Brake's statue on another stage. Brake is as horrified by all this commercial and indecent exploitation of great art as viewers in the film theatre are meant to be: If the famous 'nude dancer Mia Pia' writhes around as a Praxitelean Venus, how much lower can western civilisation sink? *O tempora, o Venus!*

If Venus can end up in the dock, she, or at least her statue, can also come to a modern mortal's rescue. *Jeanne Eagels* (1957) is a faux-biographical film in which buxom Kim Novak, soon to be a Galatea type in Alfred Hitchcock's *Vertigo* (1958), portrays the famous stage actress, dancer, and occasional silent film star. Novak's Jeanne Eagels starts out in a cheap carnival. She poses in a skimpy fake-oriental outfit as Princess Dardanella. To the strains of 'In a Persian Market' she enters a harem-type boudoir, dances around, and writhes on a tiger skin while performing an almost-striptease. She and her impresario, who is also her sweetheart, are promptly hauled off to court, and he defends her before a small-town judge.

The case is worth reporting at some length, for it is not only Greek art but also Greek literature and the honour of beautiful and heroic womanhood throughout history that are on trial:

IMPRESARIO: Is it right she should be penalized just because nature showered her with blessings? *Insert: medium close-up on Jeanne looking demure.* What would you gentlemen have her do? Go hide in a cellar because some bigot cannot look beauty in the face? Were the performances of Euro-pides—

JUDGE *correcting his pronunciation*: Euripides.

IMPRESARIO: —banned in ancient Athens? No, sir. And our play is a direct translation. In fact, this little lady can recite the entire play in Greek.

JUDGE: I'd like to hear it.

IMPRESARIO: Judge, this girl is no hoochie-coochie dancer. She is a Jean di Arc of beauty.

JUDGE *correcting him again*: Jeanne d'Arc. *Jeanne rises and assumes the posture of a statue.*

IMPRESARIO *approaching the bench with an art book*: Would you ban the works of Pretchilittes—

JUDGE *correcting him*: Praxiteles.

IMPRESARIO: —just because some vulgarians see only the vulgar in the human form? *Judge looks at book.* And Aphrodite.

JUDGE: You've got that one correct.

IMPRESARIO: Would she, too, have been thrown into jail and excommunicated from society like you're doing to this fine young lady? *Judge hesitates as Jeannie looks especially innocent.* This is a high-class, refined individual. *He takes Jeanne to the bench and opens the art book to the appropriate page.* Your Honor, I would like you to compare *Venus de Milo*, the world's most perfectly formed woman. And here you have her not in cold marble but in flesh and blood and humility. Of course we must make allowances for the arms. *He urges Jeanne to come even closer to His Honor.* See, the judge is a student of the arts. He would like to make a comparison. *The judge looks at her, impressed.* Would you say she is any less beautiful? Would you?

Of course he would not. Case dismissed; fade-out. When the circus leaves town, the impresario sends his art book to the judge as a present.

A nearly comparable scenario had taken place in real life in connection with the notorious, if today tame and disappointing, Western film *The Outlaw*, a pet production by Howard Hughes that featured Jane Russell more than the eponymous hero Billy the Kid. The film had an unforgettable marketing strategy: "What are the two great reasons for Jane Russell's rise to stardom?" asked one of the slogans for *The Outlaw* in February 1946, answering the question with a picture of the lady with her reasons highlighted'.³¹ Parker Tyler, historian of such phenomena, reports on Russell's statuesque physique and on the court case:

a California judge, passing on the claim that her film, *The Outlaw*, was obscene owing largely to her salient and partly exposed mammary equipment, decided that anything God-given, such as breasts, could not be "obscene." Goddesses, by definition, *are* beyond the law.³²

Jeanne Eagels's impresario could not have put the case better, and her judge could have uttered identical words—except that the argument in *Jeanne Eagels* was not based on religion but on art. *Ars longa, religio brevis.*

Jeanne Eagels is not a comedy, but its court scene shows some clever humour. It is also telling, in a whimsical way. Gone are the days of risqué innocence, when a hoochie-coochie outfit and a few sensuous body movements could shock, *shock* the good citizens and arouse the forces of law and order. Gone, too, the days in which average filmgoers are still aware of Euripides, let alone Praxiteles. The impresario is a vulgarian, as his mispronunciations indicate, but at least he is not an utter ignoramus. He may be better educated than many of the viewers who watch *Jeanne Eagels* on home video today and who may see no humour at all in the *Euro-pides* and *Pretchilittes* jokes—if they even realise that jokes were intended.

The impresario appreciates female beauty, no doubt partly because he is in the flesh-peddling business. The judge is much better educated and more refined but, it seems, a little repressed. The impresario appeals to His Honor's sense of cultural and social superiority and so manages to manipulate him. But why does the man of the carnival have a book on classical art among his belongings? Has he been considering just such an eventuality? The film makes fun, rather gently, of everyone involved in this courtroom scene and of contemporary society and its hang-ups. The one party who escapes without being directly mocked is the *Venus de Milo*. Of course we must make allowances for the arms.

Arms and the woman

But what about these arms? Scholars have proposed various reconstructions of the complete sculpture.³³ And so has the cinema, sort of. The Italian mini-epic—I use the paradoxical term advisedly—*The Giant of Marathon* (1959) tells a fictionalised story of the Battle of Marathon and the Marathon race. At one point we see a nightly plaza in Athens in whose centre appears our Venus or, perhaps more accurately, the similar-looking Aphrodite or Venus from Capua.³⁴ The statue, which is on screen apropos of nothing at all, can be seen only momentarily, replete with arms. It seems likely that cinemagoers were assumed to recognise this Venus as the most famous statue of all. No doubt for this very reason did Charles Chaplin include the *Venus de Milo* in *The Great Dictator* (1940), his satire of Fascism and Nazism. Early on, megalomaniacal Adenoid Hynkel is being driven down *Hynkelstrasse*, 'the avenue of culture', as a reporter calls it, which is decorated with two 'modern masterpieces: the *Venus of Today* and the *Thinker of Tomorrow*'. These are the *Venus de Milo* and Rodin's *The Thinker*, but with a difference: both have their right arms raised in the Nazi Salute (Figure 12.9).

An old-time vaudeville singing duo pays a witty verbal tribute to our goddess in *Ziegfeld Girl* (1941), MGM's lavish homage to the immortal Broadway impresario. 'Of all the statues that they show', intones one of two middle-aged men, 'I think Venus de Milo [*stress on the last vowel*] / is the greatest in all Greek



Figure 12.9 The *Venus of Today* in *The Great Dictator*

Source: Screenshot

mythology'. His stage partner, however, is not all that smitten with her: 'the thing that spoils her charms / are the pair of broken arms'. The other confesses not to have noticed this feature and promptly gets the skit's punch line: 'Where were you looking?' A legitimate point, even in this wholesome film made for the whole American family.

But how come the goddess has got no arms? Trust the cinema to lift the veil, as it were, from this ancient mystery! As with many historical and art-historical explanations, there are competing theories here, too. One was advanced in 1944 in the British time-travel comedy *Fiddlers Three*. None other than Emperor Nero is revealed to have whacked off the statue's arms with a sword. Small wonder that Nero is generally regarded as the baddest bad guy in all antiquity. The film proves beyond any doubt that this is a well-deserved reputation. A rival explanation was proposed by Alfred Hitchcock. In his television series *Alfred Hitchcock Presents*, the Master appeared to introduce and wryly and drily comment on the individual episodes. In 'The Man From the South' in Season 5 (1959), a betting addict is obsessed with cutting off his opponents' fingers if they lose. Hitch draws a classical analogy at the end: 'Now you know how *Venus de Milo* got the way she is'. Yes, now we know. Yet another way in which she got that way is on view in *Asterix at the Olympic Games* (2008).

But which master actually carved this statue? The master of mystery, detection, and suspense solves this even greater riddle for us later in the same season. In his introduction to 'Backward, Turn Backward' we observe him carving a tombstone, intended as a surprise 'going-away present' for 'a dear friend', from a large block of faux-marble. This does not work out. Hitch, unfazed, returns at the end: 'I have a new piece of stone and have decided to give sculpturing one more try'. He applies chisel and hammer and — *voilà!* The fake stone breaks away and reveals a statuette of our goddess, already without her arms (Figure 12.10). Hitch is all modesty: 'Oh well; what can you expect from a beginner?'

So let no one say that classical art has no place in popular modern culture! The preceding pages have only begun to scratch the marble surface, as it were, of this pleasing phenomenon. Today, in a slightly tongue-in-cheek manner, we might say that the Roman poet Lucretius was right in even more ways than he could have imagined when he said that nothing rises into the divine regions of light without Venus.³⁵ The cinema is indeed a region of light for film stars and divas and for their enraptured acolytes. We might conclude then by adapting a tribute originally intended for one other famous and irresistible lady from



Figure 12.10 Alfred Hitchcock, the new Praxiteles?

Source: Screenshot

classical antiquity, albeit a mortal, to our Olympian beauty: *Film cannot wither her nor custom stale / her infinite variety on our screens.*

Notes

- 1 Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus* 4.57.2–3: ‘if someone sees a statue of a naked woman without inscription, he understands it to be golden Aphrodite’ (my translation).
- 2 On this work see, among numerous more technical or art-historical studies, Pasquier (1985), with numerous illustrations, including colour plates; Havelock (1995) 28–34 and 157–9 (notes). See further Prettejohn (2006). Prettejohn, p. 230, singles out ‘the facial type’ of the statue and ‘the fine working of the marble’ as Praxitelean.
- 3 A brief but useful overview may be found in Lapeña Marchena (2006).
- 4 Waterbury (1928). Williams (2013a) 1–3 and *passim* discusses this article at some length.
- 5 The quotations are from Waterbury (1928) 34, 35, and 92.
- 6 The same kind of comparison occurred elsewhere, of course. Another example is Greta Garbo: ‘Venus de Milo (100 B.C. [*sic*])’ and ‘Greta Garbo (July 1930)’, reproduced in Borman (1991) = Borman (1992) 10.
- 7 Williams (2013a) shows this image on the cover, with additional information on p. 64. This is not the only such image of Joan Crawford.
- 8 Tyler (1985) 242.
- 9 Sands and Borman (1979), an illustrated homage. There is also Bret (2012), a biography with a comparable title.
- 10 Smith (1927) 32–3 and 120; quotation from p. 32. This article’s title alludes to the fact that Garbo and Gilbert are not getting married. Williams (2013a) 163–5 quotes Gilbert more extensively and further discusses this aspect of Garbo’s myth.
- 11 The image opens Gebhard (1922). On this subject cf. Williams (2013b) 125–44, with illustrations. Earlier: Williams (2013a) 54–81 and 215–19 (chapter titled ‘Swanson Venus and Apollo Arlen: Sculpting the Star Body’). Arlen is actor Richard Arlen.
- 12 Shulman (1964); in Portuguese: Shulman (1965). The bio-pic *Harlow* that followed in 1965, with Carroll Baker as Jean, received the Portuguese book’s title for its Brazilian release as well.
- 13 An attractive image may be seen in Lochman et al. (2008) 71, ill. 98. English release titles of *Mio figlio Nerone* are *O.K. Nero*, *Nero’s Big Weekend*, and *Nero’s Mistress*. A comparable photograph of actress Moira Orfei, a regular in Italian films with ancient settings, next to the same statue (ill. 97) appears beside the one of Bardot and invites connoisseurs’ contemplation and appreciation.
- 14 Tyler (1974) 94, calls Bardot ‘Venus de Bikini’ and illustrates his point on p. 95 with a photograph of Bardot in *The Girl in the Bikini* (1958). Tyler’s book is chock-full of Venuses, although he is apt to use the name rather loosely: pp. 92 (Hedy

- Lamarr), 93 (Betty Blythe), 97 (Marie Prevost as 'Art Deco Venus'), 106 (Marlene Dietrich as 'Cabaret Venus' in *The Blue Angel*), and 108 ('Venus de Mae West'). It is now difficult to find a copy of this book from which pages with particularly appealing illustrations have not been removed. It was reprinted as Tyler (2000).—Blond British bombshell Diana Dors was posthumously honoured by her hometown of Swindon with a large statue as well; it stands outside a cinema theatre. The bronze sculpture emphasises Dors's curves but is not a model of elegance. Her films provide more attractive memorials and mementoes.
- 15 Quoted from Ringgold (1991) 165. More on *Down to Earth* in Winkler (2009) 93–103.
 - 16 Sargeant (1947) 81 and 82.
 - 17 Quoted from Sargeant (1947) 96.
 - 18 The photo and its full caption can be found at www.upi.com/News_Photos/view/upi/133f0f59c8f94a3ea304e1df8ad6de0d/Jayne-Mansfield-poses-below-Venus-of-Milo-at-the-Louvre/.
 - 19 The photo and caption, along with other pictures taken with ancient statuary on the same occasion, are available online at <http://images.google.com/hosted/life/e8238f731bc14d27.html>. The captions of two other photos fail to identify busts of Aristophanes and Socrates. That is a sad thing to see, is it not?
 - 20 These and all later quotations by Gardner are taken from Gardner (1990) 114–16. The book was published posthumously.
 - 21 Server (2006) 153–7 provides background information. The supposedly Anatolian style of the statue is taken over from the libretto of the stage version. On the film see also James (2013) 97–9 and 104–11.
 - 22 Server (2006) 153. Server, p. 154, provides all the data and reports how Nicolosi and Gardner dealt with the lower part of her bathing suit.
 - 23 Server (2006) 154.
 - 24 Quoted from Server (2006) 155.
 - 25 Havelock (1995) 98–101 and fig. 35 discusses this type and provides an image. Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophists* 12.554c–e, preserves and explains the adjective. *Erôtes* (or *Amores*, *Affairs of the Heart*), a Greek dialogue once attributed to Lucian of Samosata, contains a passionate verbal tribute to this part of the goddess's anatomy as embodied in a statue by Praxiteles (13–14) and possibly another such tribute through action (15–17). Elsner (2007) 117–20 discusses these passages and decides in favour of Lucian's authorship.
 - 26 Felleman (2006) 60. Felleman, pp. 56–73 and 165–7 (notes), devotes an entire chapter to Gardner: 'The Birth, Death, and Apotheosis of a Hollywood Love Goddess'.
 - 27 Server (2006) 155.
 - 28 Unsigned (1954), with photographs by David Douglas Duncan. One photo (p. 141) shows Peikov, Gardner, and a clay head modelled on hers.
 - 29 Both quotations are from Server (2006) 278.
 - 30 Information on this little-known film is available in Hobsch (2010) 469–71; Felleman (2011) includes a section titled 'Modernism on Trial: *Venus vor Gericht*

(1941)'. *The comments and illustrations in Chametzky (2010) 145–52 are enlightening on the film's political and artistic aspects.*

31 Quoted from Cameron (1969) 113.

32 Tyler (1969) 19 (in a chapter titled 'The Awful Fate of the Sex Goddess'). *The Naked Venus* (1959), proclaimed in its trailer as 'the most audacious picture ever made', also features a court case involving nudism and posing for paintings. It was directed, under a pseudonym, by B-movie cult favourite Edgar G. Ulmer.

33 Cf., e.g., Havelock (1995) 93–8; Kousser (2008) 28–34 and 157–9 (notes). Curtis (2003) gives an illustrated non-specialist history of the work.

34 On this statue see Havelock (1995) 95–7 and fig. 34; Kousser (2008) *passim* and 13, fig. 6.

35 Lucretius, *On the Nature of Things* 1.22–3. These lines are part of his opening invocation of and hymn to the goddess.

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PART 4
Beyond Hellenomania?



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Las Incantadas of Salonica: searching for 'enchantment' in a city's exiled heritage

Esther Solomon and Styliana Galiniki

This is the story of some fine Roman sculptures, which for a very long time were called and thought of as *enchanted*. It is also an intriguing story of Thessaloniki, an important port in Roman and Byzantine times and, after its conquest by the Turks in 1430, a multi-ethnic Ottoman centre, which for nearly five hundred years brought together Greek-speaking Orthodox populations, Turkish-speaking Muslims, Slavic and Vlach-speaking groups, Gypsies, Albanians, Armenians (who arrived here in the nineteenth century), western Europeans, and thousands of Spanish-speaking Jews who, after their expulsion from Catholic Spain in the fifteenth century, found a hospitable refuge in this part of the Mediterranean.

But let us first mention three key points of this narration. First, in the mid-nineteenth century, Salonica, as the city was then called, was living between an oriental tradition and a coveted westernised modernity.¹ It became the enduring object of European orientalist and romantic gazes and, at the same time, the domain of a peculiar cosmopolitan trend² depicted in thousands of fin-de-siècle postcards, today reproduced in nostalgic books and exhibitions about the city's old good days.³ Second, since its incorporation into the Modern Greek State in 1912, Salonica, officially re-named Thessaloniki, has been the largest Greek city after Athens, the centre of northern Greece and the capital of the Macedonia region, thus playing an important role both in Greece and generally in southeast Europe in industrial, commercial, and political terms. The Great Fire of 1917, the expulsion of thousands of Muslim people to Turkey together with the arrival of Greek refugees from Asia Minor in the 1920s, and the devastation by the Nazis in World War II of the local Jewish community, the largest in the Mediterranean, drastically changed the composition of the city's population as well as its historic architectural characteristics of the Ottoman period.⁴ Third and finally, the difficult relations between Greece and its northern and eastern neighbours throughout the twentieth century and the conditions that followed the end of the Cold War Period in the Balkans in 1990, especially in relation to the independence of the Former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia (which in Greece is called either with the abbreviation FYROM

or the capital's name, Skopje), made Thessaloniki a major centre for the expression of Greek nationalism.⁵ This fact resulted in the revival of a strong local interest in ancient Macedonian civilisation, in impressively financed and promoted archaeological excavations in the village of Vergina, which would be used as evidence of the Greekness of the area and more often than not in the construction of direct ties between the present and the ancient past.⁶

Yet, to go back to the ancient 'enchanted' sculptures, how do their story and that of the city's different peoples relate to each other?

Tales

In order to answer this question we need to produce a genealogy of the city's collective memory by writing the sculptures' cultural biography.⁷ We also need to step back in time and go to the administrative centre of Roman Thessaloniki, i.e. the Ancient Forum or Agora. Somewhere near its large central square, built at the end of the second century AD, there was a luxurious two-storey colonnade with upper pillars decorated on both sides with mythological figures related to the cult of Dionysus (a Maenad, Ariadne, Leda, etc.). Today, four surviving pillars with eight sculptured figures are on display at the Musée du Louvre in Paris (Figure 13.1).



Figure 13.1 The *Incantadas* on display in the exhibition 'Au royaume d'Alexandre le Grand' at the Louvre (2011–2012)

Source: Photograph by Antoine Mongodin, © Antoine Mongodin/Musée du Louvre

Archaeologists believe that the colonnade originally belonged to a complex of Roman thermal baths,⁸ a hypothesis supported by the fact that for centuries the area has been used for the collection of water from the slopes of Mt Hortiatis. A Turkish bath built in the fifteenth century, still standing nearby the ruins of the Forum, strengthens the archaeologists' case for an extended local use of water in the area for thermal purposes.⁹

Very little, however, is known about the colonnade's fate in the more than one thousand years that occurred between the abandonment of the Roman Forum in the fifth century AD, the gradual disappearance of its remains under the earth, and the arrival of the Sephardic Jews in Salonica in the early sixteenth century.¹⁰ The newcomers incorporated the colonnade amidst their houses in their densely inhabited quarter of Rogos, just north of Egnatia Street, the city's main axis. We know this from sketches and memoirs of several European travellers who visited Salonica in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: diplomats, military officers, and young aristocrats who either extended their Grand Tour in the exotic Levant or wanted to trace the biblical route of St Paul.¹¹ All together, they formed a fascinating orientalist blend, quite different in character from the often philhellenic European journeys in southern Greece; most travellers were interested in classical ruins,¹² but Macedonia, in Ottoman times, could not compete with Athens and the Peloponnese in visible examples of ancient art and architecture.

As one of the city's major sights, the ancient colonnade and its sculptures attracted the travellers' interest, hence it was often mentioned, described, and interpreted. A French military mission under Marquis Gravier d'Ortières in the seventeenth century produced valuable drawings not only of the monument¹³ but also of walled Salonica: at that time French kings were looking for a historical excuse in the conquered Byzantine territories for the consolidation and the expansion of their supposed divine monarchic power.¹⁴ In 1745, Richard Pococke depicted the colonnade in a highly idealised manner,¹⁵ in 'a surrounding resembling more a western European city rather than Ottoman Salonica' (Figure 13.2).¹⁶

'Of a ruin at Salonicha [sic], called the Incantada'¹⁷

In 1753, the British architects, artists, and members of the Dilettanti Society James Stuart and Nicholas Revett visited Salonica and produced meticulous drawings of the notable colonnade based on rigorous observations (Figure 13.3). These are included in one of the most influential architectural books on ancient Greece, *The Antiquities of Athens* (1762–1816) by which Stuart and Revett aimed to diffuse love for Hellenic aesthetic values and not least to 'improve' British taste.¹⁸

In one of their best-known engravings,¹⁹ our colonnade appears incorporated into the yard of a private house (Figure 13.4). One can see the travellers

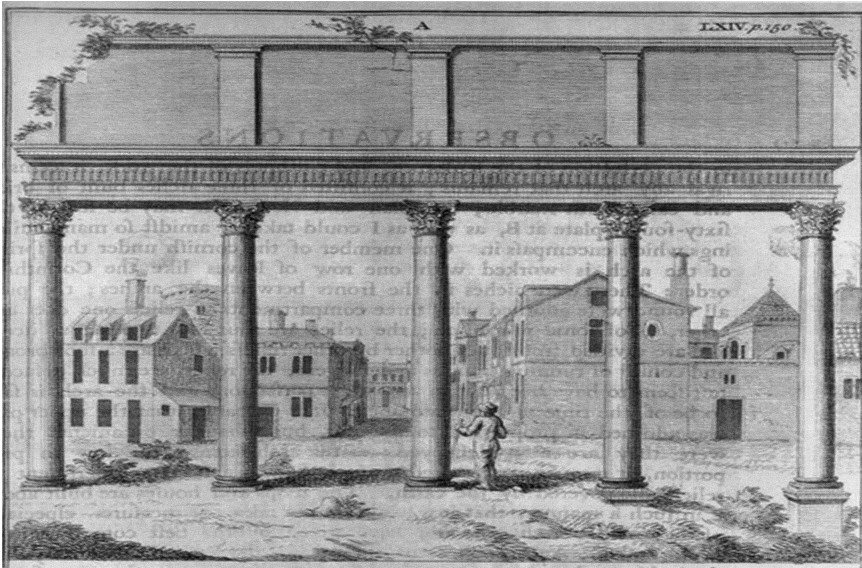


Figure 13.2 'A triumphal monument, in an extraordinary taste'. Engraving by the English traveller Richard Pococke who visited Salonica in 1740

Source: POCOKE Richard 1745, vol. 2, part 2, p. 150, plate 64. https://archive.org/details/gri_33125009339611. Accessed 23 June 2017

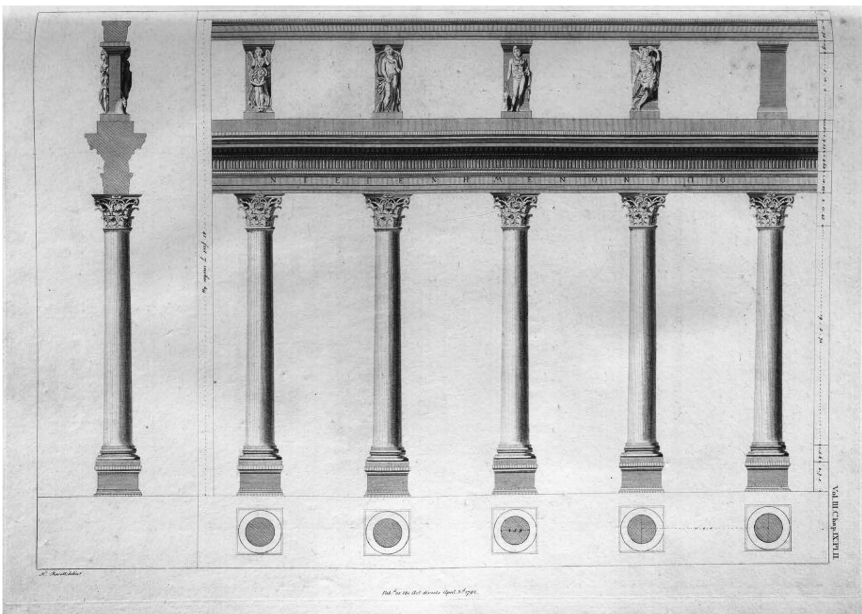


Figure 13.3 The colonnade as depicted by Stuart and Revett

Source: STUART James, REVETT Nicholas 1794, vol. 3, p. 55, plate II, <https://archive.org/details/details/antiquitiesAtThe3Stua>. Accessed 23 June 2017

themselves being received by the merchant and owner of the house, his wife and daughters, the British consul with his young son, a servant offering coffee, an interpreter as well as many ethnographic details related to people's clothes, ethnic habits, and folk traditions.

Stuart and Revett also gave us the name the sculptures owed to the Spanish-speaking Jews of the area: *Las Incantadas* (the Enchanted Ones). But why enchanted? According to the recorded legend, the colonnade was part of a portico once belonging to the palace of Alexander the Great, who fell in love with the wife of the king of Thrace whom he hosted.²⁰ The latter wanted to take revenge by petrifying the illegitimate lovers but it was he, the queen, and their fellows who were turned into marble figures forever to remind us of their enchantment. Stuart commented, not without some contempt, that Greeks could obviously make a magnificent tale out of nothing.²¹ Nevertheless, the naïve local perception of antiquity, which the travellers presented as the antithesis of their scientific architectural representation of the monument, reveals the persistence of Alexander's influential myth, also known from epigrams, poems, and folk tales of the time. It also shows that citizens in Ottoman Salonica, like elsewhere in the Balkans and beyond, felt somewhat related to the long surviving legend of Alexander (a figure who

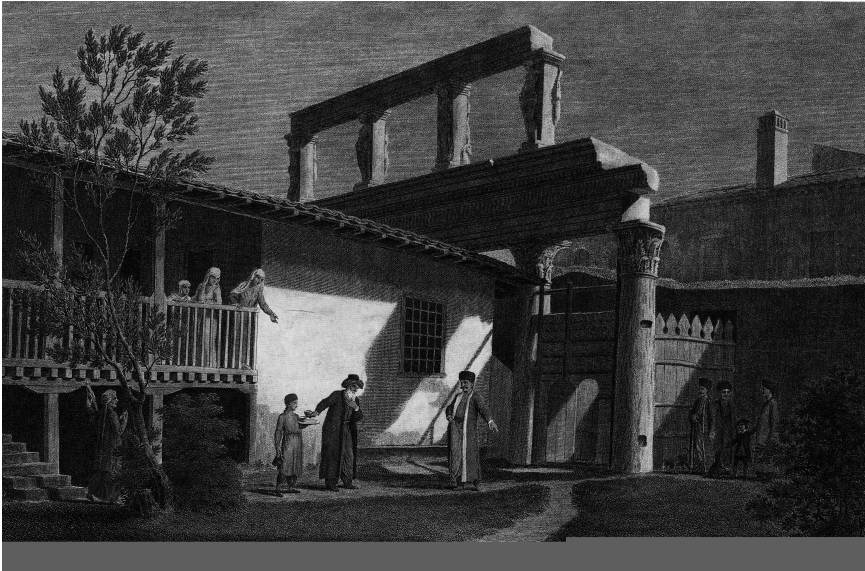


Figure 13.4 Cultural encounters: Stuart, Revett and the British Consul
'Paradise in the Jew's house'

Source: STUART James, REVETT Nicholas 1794, vol. 3, p. 54, plate I, <https://archive.org/details/antiquitiesAthe3Stua>. Accessed 23 June 2017

transcends the confines of a narrow northern/western European philhellenism).²² Last but not least, also local intellectuals and western travellers often interpreted ancient relics in Macedonia as part of Alexander's imaginary palace.²³

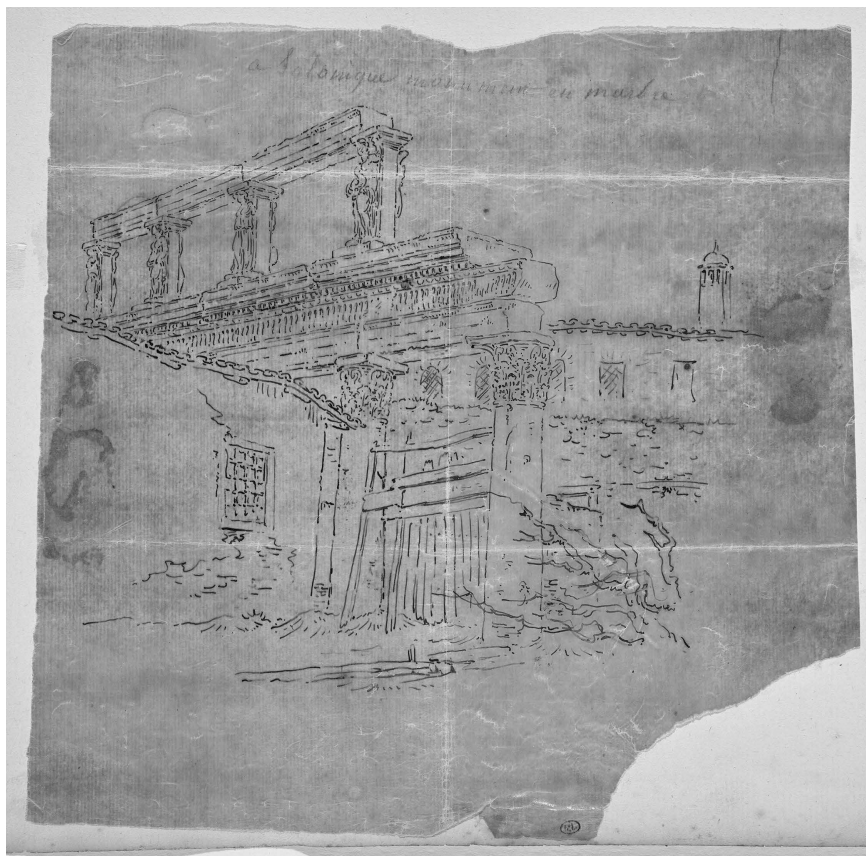


Figure 13.5 Drawing of the monument included into the album of the painter Louis-François Cassas. Between 1784 and 1787, Cassas travelled in Ottoman Greece as envoy of Count Choiseul-Gouffier, French Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, in order to make the drawings for Choiseul-Gouffier's second volume of *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce* (1809). According to Alexandre de Lamborde (previous owner of the album), this drawing was not included in the final publication of the *Voyage*

Source: Courtesy of Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, © Réunion des Musées Nationaux

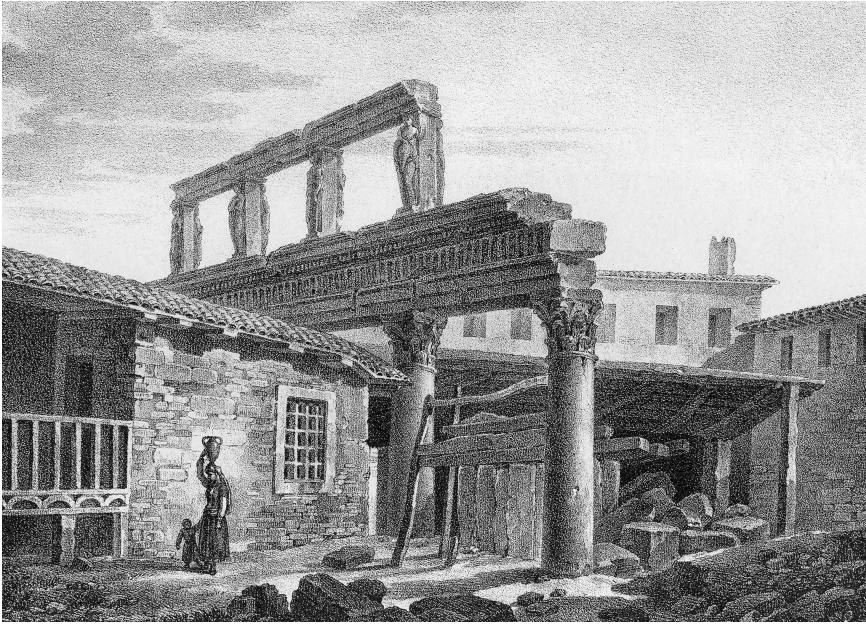


Figure 13.6 View of the *Incantadas* from the book by E. M. Cousinéry, *Voyage dans la Macédoine* (1831). The drawing was made by Fauvel, envoy of Count Choiseul-Gouffier and later consul of France in Ottoman Athens

Source: COUSINERY Esprit-Marie 1831, p. 32

Certainly, the *Incantadas* was not the only ancient monument in the city; besides, it was dated from the Roman and not the Golden Era of Antiquity, the fifth and fourth centuries BC. However, due to its Corinthian columns, its reference to Alexander, its sculptured figures, and their influential depiction by the British travellers, the monument could link Salonica to the classical world, and somehow to its undisputable cradle, Athens. Thus the city acquired its own Caryatids, though shamefully incorporated not into a Parthenon or an Erechtheion, but into a Jewish-Muslim-Modern Greek oriental scenery.²⁴ More importantly, the sculptures were in urgent need of being 'saved' by the western connoisseurs of ancient art. At last, Salonica entered the classically oriented imagination of western scholars and aristocrats as well as, later on, of the Salonican citizens themselves, regardless of their different ethnic identities (Figures 13.5, 13.6).

'If fortune wishes that I should take away those statues!'

In Europe, archaeology excited artists and people reading the news about impressive discoveries made in the East. Collecting antiquities was also seen as a service

to the nation and its museums offered by European diplomats, both living and visiting Salonica, especially in the context of the long rivalry between France and Britain.²⁵ It is in this framework that we should understand the action taken by Emmanuel Miller, a French palaeographer supported by Napoleon III in his search for Byzantine manuscripts and antiquities from Mt Athos and elsewhere in Ottoman Macedonia. By the time Miller arrived in fascinating Salonica in 1864, he had already managed to collect significant antiquities from the island of Thasos for his emperor's collections. In Salonica, he managed to obtain the highly coveted permission from the Sultan to transport not only the *Incantadas* but also the whole colonnade to France. In his report to the emperor, Miller claimed that he 'intended to save those precious remains of ancient art'²⁶ and thought his action as justifiable: Janissaries used to shoot at the marbles for entertainment, and the Jewish owner of the house would sell tourists some pieces as souvenirs. In Paris the statues would be much more appreciated than in the backward Levant.

Yet, when Miller was informed that sufficient equipment could not be provided by Paris and that he must smash the monument's architectural parts if he wanted to ship them or simply free the blocked streets, he seemed ready to reverse, momentarily, the established opposition between East and West, justifying the locals who would 'rightly' call the French barbarians, or even Vandals.²⁷

In his account,²⁸ apart from the difficulties he faced carrying out his project, Miller mentioned agitated and furious Salonicans, malicious rumours spread all around, and angry Jews and Muslims, who blocked the streets impeding the removal of the marbles and even assaulted his sailors, an unreasonable hostility, according to him, given the deteriorated status of the ancient works.

In an Athenian newspaper, a correspondent from Salonica with the Jewish name Aaron wrote in purist Greek ('katharevousa') a short article titled 'Looting of antiquities' on 1 November 1864—the day Miller's operation was made known (Figure 13.7):

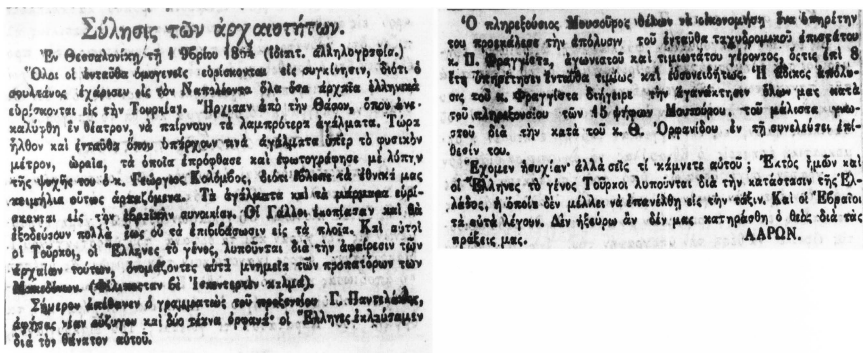


Figure 13.7 Aaron's letter in the newspaper *Paliggenesia* (10 November 1864, pp. 2–3)

All locally settled compatriots are emotionally affected because the Sultan donated to Napoleon all Greek antiquities existing in Turkey . . . They arrived [i.e. Miller and his fellows] here where there are some statues larger than natural in size, beautiful, that Mr Georgios Kolombos managed to photograph in time, with great sorrow, when seeing our national heirlooms being grabbed [. . .] The statues and the marbles are in the Jewish quarter. Even those Turks who are Greek in origin feel sad seeing the statues being removed; they call them 'monuments of their Macedonian ancestors'.²⁹ [Figure 13.8]

A sentence in Turkish written with Greek fonts (Φίλιπποσταν βε Ισκεντερετέν καλμά) follows, meaning that the monuments date to the time of Philip and Alexander the Great.

This article portrays Salonican society in the nineteenth century in terms of religious, linguistic, and ethnic complexity, showing that the removal of the *Incantadas* by Miller is not just another story about Greek antiquities ending up in foreign museums, but one interwoven with the palimpsest of different social identities as performed at the time. The external gaze of the foreign looters of antiquities mobilises the internal gazes of the people of Salonica, independently from their ethnic-religious origins. The emergent point of convergence was the legacy of the past and its view as an element of local heritage. And, in the following years, Salonicans formed their local identity also in reference (or, rather, in opposition) to foreigners, those *Others* who sought to remove antiquities and appropriate something that belonged to the city.

As reported by Beaujour, the Muslim-Turkish population called the statues *sureth-maleh* [sic] (angel figures) and their street *Suretler*.³⁰ Greek Orthodox citizens referred to them as 'the Idols'.³¹ Obviously, the Turkish name of the statues and the street, the myth of the enchanted figures, the Greek name *Idols* [*Idola*] and the Judeo-Spanish name *Incantadas*, which today is translated and used in Greek as *Magemenes* are all interrelated, interpreting each other within the different chapters of the monument's biography.

Such linguistic confusion! Here, we confront a thick layering of overlapping translations, mythological connotations, and meaningful metonymies of the past in the present. All revolve around the colonnade and vary according to which of the groups resident in Salonica is referring to the monument at any time.

Stephanos Stephanides may well give us some interesting tools to understand the literal and metaphorical *translations* of the monument in each group's idiom.³² In the light of Walter Benjamin's theory of translation, he approaches cultural heritage 'as a gesture toward the afterlife', a process that hides our wish to save the future from the ruins of the past marking the tension between forgetfulness and memory.³³ When diverse social processes activate the meanings of cultural heritage, Stephanides argues, what matters is not the way tradition is presented but the way it is translated and told. Translation is perceived as a socio-political process constitutive of culture, a practice or rather,

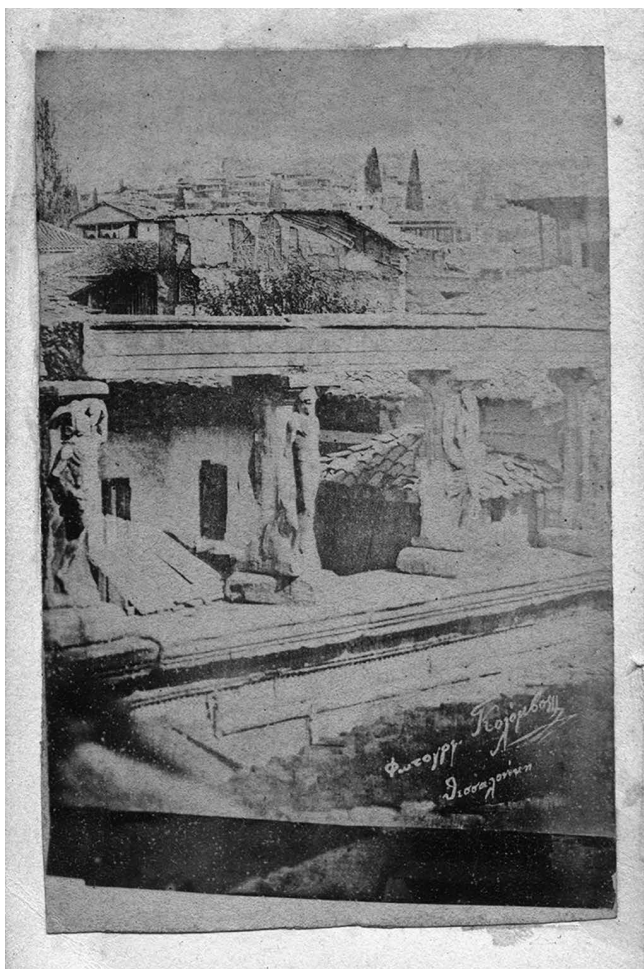


Figure 13.8 The *Incantadas* photographed by the Greek photographer Georgios Kolombos in 1864, a few days before the removal of the sculptures by Miller. This historic photograph was mentioned in the Greek newspaper *Paliggenesia* (November 1864) and is first published here. Part of it was presented at the International Fair of Thessaloniki 2015, in a temporary exhibition of replicas of the *Incantadas*

Source: Courtesy of Haris Yiakoumis, © Pierre de Gigord/Haris Yiakoumis, Kallimages, Paris

a game that, like heritage, allows us to incorporate the unfamiliar aspects of the past into the present.³⁴ As anthropologist James Clifford has shown in the context of post-colonial self-critique of ethnographic writing, translating the Other is a process of continuous storytelling, a narration that listeners, in their

turn, translate when they decide to narrate it to other listeners.³⁵ The different narratives regarding the *Incantadas* and the meanings that were locally attributed to them through various linguistic references, legends, storytelling, and representations are all symbolic appropriations of the monument in the context of the mid-nineteenth-century multi-ethnic Salonican identity, which often attempted either to resist or to accommodate according to the foreigners' discourses, action, and gaze.³⁶ It is the way in which these appropriations have re-emerged in contemporary Thessaloniki that we shall try to trace in the next part of our chapter.

Forgetting and remembering: the oblivion and rediscovery of the *Incantadas* in the city's collective memory

Not long ago, I read in a rare book about the Incantadas, as they were called by the Jews of the city who had arrived here from Spain [. . .] [N]ow they are at the Louvre, who knows where thrown.

Yet I believe that I have seen with my own eyes these things standing in their place. Even when I first heard their name, my heart was warmed. I imagine that I had lived in one of these homes around [the monument] that the great fire eventually wasted.³⁷

What happened after the completion of Miller's operation?

Some of the shipped marbles ended up in the Louvre, while the less impressive parts remained stored on the Île aux Cygnes in the river Seine. Napoleon's project to create a museum failed. The reconstruction of the monument proved very difficult, since there were no guidelines by Miller on how to put the pieces together or information on their original position.³⁸ The sculptures were first displayed at the Louvre in 1869 (Figure 13.9). In a small guide of the Louvre published in 1883, they were presented as belonging to the '*Enchanted Palace of Thessalonica*,³⁹ reminding us of the local tale that Stuart and Revett had disregarded one hundred and thirty years earlier (Figure 13.10). In any case, poor documentation and inadequate assembling and display resulted in the attraction of very little academic attention, until the remains of the Agora of ancient Thessaloniki came to light in 1961 on the occasion of the (never realised) construction of the local Court of Justice.⁴⁰

The monument and its looting were largely forgotten. Apart from sporadic references by local Greek intellectuals, little was said about the *Incantadas* after 1864 (Figures 13.11, 13.12).⁴¹ The Jewish house, in the court of which the *Incantadas* had stood, the Rogos quarter, and much of what then constituted the centre of the city completely disappeared in the 1917 fire. The Greek government established in Thessaloniki less than five years earlier decided on the adoption of a new urban plan that would make the city look much more 'European'.⁴² Although very little of it was finally realised, most remains of the Ottoman period were erased. This action produced a large and barren open area in the very heart of the city.⁴³



Figure 13.9 Part of a stereoscopic photograph depicting the *Incantadas* at the Louvre. The collector Mr Haris Yiakoumis dates the photography around 1875

Source: Courtesy of Haris Yiakoumis, © Haris Yiakoumis/Kallimages, Paris

So, too, with the removal of the burnt debris of the Rogos quarter, the memories of the people once living there also faded; like that of the Salonican novelist Giorgos Ioannou quoted above or of a Jewish woman named Gentile Cohen recorded by the Greek newspaper *Makedonia* in 1939,⁴⁴ four years before the deportation of her family to Auschwitz.⁴⁵ As Cohen's grandfather's house was located behind the Turkish baths, many pieces of the ancient colonnade left by Miller were lying there until the house was burnt in the Great Fire. In 1939, Gentile's memories were important in identifying the exact position of the ancient monument in what today is the so-called Tribunal Square ('Platia Dikastirion' and, officially, 'Square of the Ancient Agora') (Figure 13.13).⁴⁶

In Thessaloniki, the first academic article on the *Incantadas* appeared only in 1985.⁴⁷ After more than a century of oblivion, the Hellenist Apostolos Vakalopoulos told the story of the marbles looted by Miller, dubbing him 'The Elgin of Thessaloniki'. His article was published by the widely respected Society for Macedonian Studies, at a time when the Greek Ministry of Culture was giving



Figure 13.10 Academic notes in a nineteenth-century guide: The bas reliefs *Las Incantadas* displayed at the Daru Staircase of the Louvre once 'formed the attic of the "Enchanted Palace" of Thessalonica'

Source: BEALE Sofia 1883, p. 205

extended publicity to the Parthenon Marbles and the issue of their restitution to Greece. It was also a time of social emphasis on defending the country's sovereignty in terms of managing and deciding the future of its heritage.⁴⁸ Through the claim of the restitution of the *Incantadas*, expressed for the first

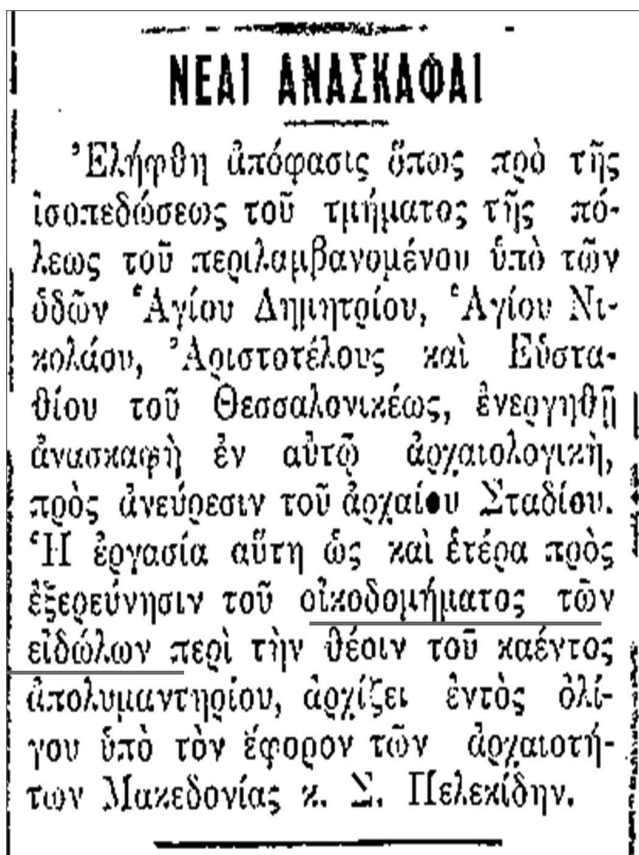


Figure 13.11 Announcement in the press by the Greek Superintendent of Antiquities, S. Pelekidis, of planned excavations close to the area of the *Idols*, three years after the Great Fire (21 March 1920)

time in the context of the celebrations of the twenty-three hundred years since the foundation of ancient Thessaloniki,⁴⁹ Salonica at last found its own Elgin. The discourse on the role of the city in classical antiquity, formed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, re-emerged in a very different political context, in which the multi-ethnic past of Salonica seemed completely forgotten.

Current appropriations

*We wish that in 1997, the Enchanted Ones would travel and be displayed in their natural space, i.e. Thessaloniki. This will be a great opportunity to confirm the warm Greek-French friendship.*⁵⁰



Figure 13.13 'Where exactly did the House of the Idols stand? Its location is marked with an array next to the Baths'. Sketch published together with Gentile Cohen's testimony, Newspaper *Makedonia* (23 April 1939)

In this diplomatic way, in 1994, the then Mayor of Thessaloniki, Konstantinos Kosmopoulos, expressed his vision for the cultural future of his city as well as the role heritage might play in strengthening political ties between EU states, during a period in which the position of Greece in the European 'family' was not a topic of fervent discussion, as it is in the current times of austerity. Not accidentally, the mayor's words were part of the launch of the city's artistic festival as Cultural Capital of Europe 1997 and of a calendar depicting the *Incantadas*. Yet, the 'journey' of the sculptures back to Thessaloniki, as wished by the mayor, was not made possible.⁵¹

The festival nevertheless gave the local authorities an opportunity to initiate a public discussion about the *Incantadas*, sometimes referred to as the *Idols*, and claimed the right of Thessalonians to admire some unique examples of their archaeological heritage, 'exiled' in France. Public reference was also made to the Turkish and the Ladino (Judeo-Spanish) names of the sculptures and the historic presence of a Jewish neighbourhood in the very heart of the city. Thessaloniki's 1997 Cultural Capital of Europe festival took place only a few years after immense protests against the use of the name *Macedonia* by FYROM passionately emphasising that 'Macedonia has been Greek and only Greek for the last 3,000 years'.⁵² For the first time, some clear voices stressing the multiple aspects of local cultural heritage were heard.

The concept of multiculturalism was then introduced in public discourses which stressed the need for a rapprochement between Greece and other ethnic and religious groups that have or had lived in its territories. Such a process was indirectly implied by but never linked directly to the massive waves of migrants who started arriving in Greece, and particularly in Thessaloniki, after 1990.⁵³ For the first time in local history, Thessaloniki was represented as a

crossroad of cultures (and not only as the overwhelming emblem of uninterrupted Greekness since the times of Alexander),⁵⁴ since the local authorities included events in the festival that were not related to the treasures of ancient Macedonia or the significance of Byzantine Thessaloniki.⁵⁵ Some of these events focused on the presence of 'historical communities', such as the Jewish and the Armenian (i.e. those still existing albeit in very few numbers), and emphasised the notion of cultural diversity as valuable both historically and socially. For the first time Thessaloniki also saw plans for the foundation of a museum dedicated to the perished Jewish community (opened in 2001), and an impressive number of books on old Thessaloniki and its unknown landmarks (mosques, Turkish baths, bourgeois villas, etc.) was published, many of which emphasised the cultural contribution of various religious and ethnic groups to fin-de-siècle Ottoman Salonica. Nostalgic descriptions of old Salonica's culture 'east of the West and the West of the East' represented the history of the city until 1922 as a fascinating oriental and cosmopolitan mixture.

The restarting of an extended programme of excavations and site interpretation in the Agora in 1990 also stirred some, albeit limited, academic and public interest in the *Incantadas* (Figure 13.14). In the adjacent square, a circular plot of grass and a small playground constructed a few years ago mark their approximate location (Figure 13.15),⁵⁶ although very few Thessalonians and even fewer immigrants, who today use the place for social gatherings or for cigarette smuggling, are informed about the meaning of these, otherwise very common, features in Greek open-air spaces.⁵⁷

Most strikingly, since 2006, local politicians have made the campaign for the return of the *Incantadas* (either the originals or their replicas) a central issue in their agendas.⁵⁸ In most cases, these attempts recall the rhetoric of the Elgin Marbles, adapted to the context and the particularities of a modern Thessaloniki that always appears 'neglected' by Athens (Figure 13.16). Similar discourses are encountered in several local blogs that present the case of the 'stolen Caryatids of Thessaloniki'.⁵⁹

Three local museums opened in Thessaloniki, in 2006, 2008, and 2010 respectively: the permanent redisplay of the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki collections, the city's museum in the White Tower, and the new Museum of the Ancient Agora. In all three, the displays mention the *Incantadas* in ways that relate them to the ethnic palimpsest of Ottoman Salonica.⁶⁰ Around the same time (2011–2012), in an exhibition about the *Ancient Macedonian Kingdom of Alexander the Great* at the Louvre, seen by the Greek State as an opportunity to promote the Greek heritage of ancient Macedonia, the *Incantadas* were displayed next to hundreds of other exhibits brought to Paris from northern Greek museums. Conservation work and a fancy display were then realised, as it was announced, to look through different eyes at these masterpieces of Roman Art for so long neglected in the museum's spaces.⁶¹

Yet the focus on 'multicultural' Thessaloniki took a rather unexpected turn in late 2010, when the current mayor, Yannis Boutaris, wanted to promote a

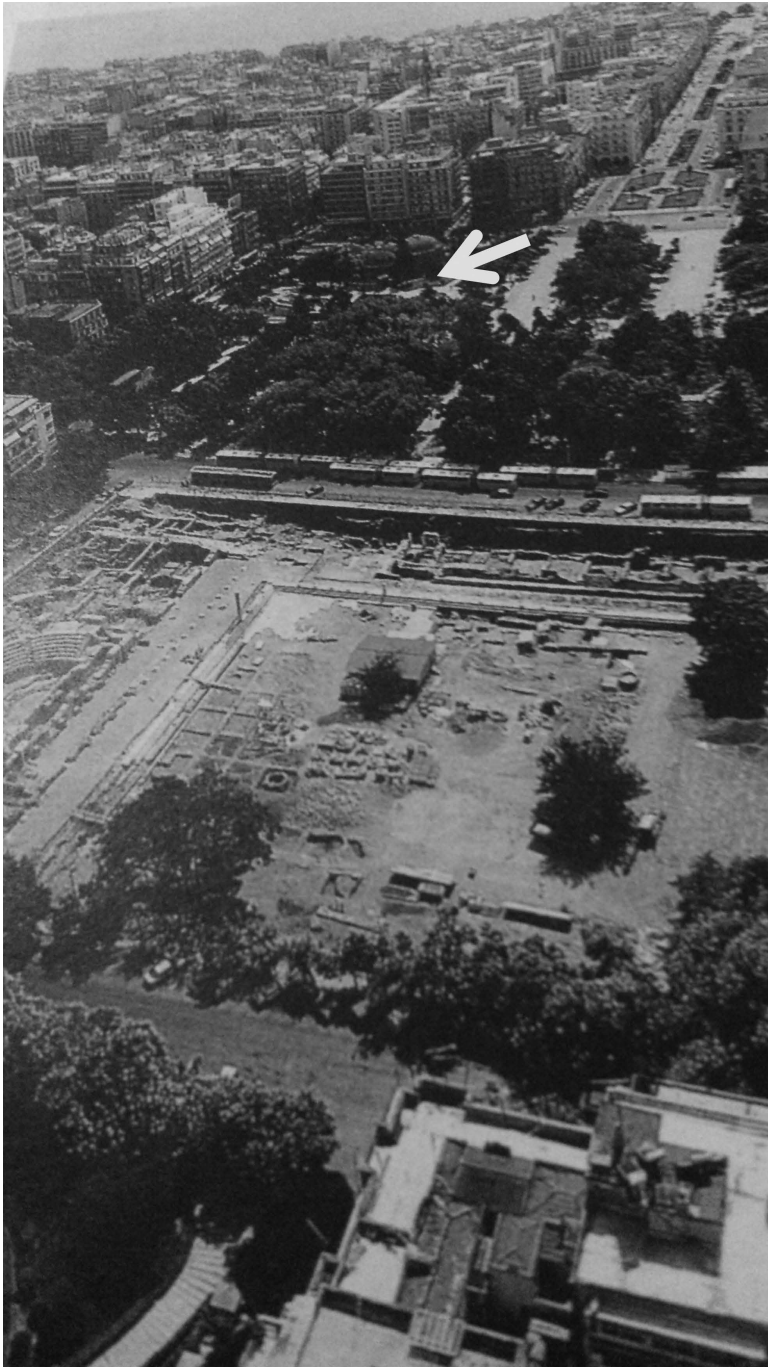


Figure 13.14 The excavated site of the Ancient Agora of Thessaloniki and the adjacent square where the colonnade of the *Incantadas* stood until 1864. The arrow marks the location of the Jewish house that included the *Incantadas*. The whole residential area was burnt during the Great Fire in 1917

Source: Courtesy of Polyxeni Adam-Veleni



Figure 13.15 The approximate location of an erstwhile monument. At the back, the Turkish Baths ‘The Paradise’ that escaped the fire

Source: Photograph by Styliana Galiniki



Figure 13.16 ‘The Enchanted Ones: The only Caryatids found in Macedonia before the discovery at Amphipolis’

Source: Published a few days after the discovery of the Caryatids at Amphipolis, Electronic Journal *iefimerida*, 8 September 2014, www.iefimerida.gr/news/169363, accessed 4 May 2015

different image of his leadership through a new use of the 'lost' monument. This time the antiquities did not represent the hurt soul of the Greek nation; on the contrary, they were invested with an apparently positive and profoundly local meaning, tantamount to the city's Ottoman past and its three main historical ethnicities, Greek, Turkish, and Jewish. And although most Thessalonians seemed to ignore the existence of the sculptures, more and more local associations, environmental movements, individual local bloggers, and school-teachers showed a growing interest in the long-forgotten colonnade.⁶² Such a discursive turn was associated with a general quest by a large part of the local population for a different Thessalonian cultural identity, away from the mono-ethnic nationalist character that had dominated the city for decades. The new mayor brought the city's multiple cultural pasts to the forefront, a movement also viewed as an asset in attracting Turkish and Israeli tourists, and his perspective has characterised several public history initiatives since 2010.⁶³

A Facebook group has since promoted the return of the sculptures to the city where they belong,⁶⁴ while local business consortia organised events to inform Thessalonians about their lost heritage.⁶⁵ Stuart and Revett's engraving has been incorporated into popular shadow-theatre plays (Figure 13.17), in local products (Figure 13.18), in Salonican artists' production and elsewhere (Figure 13.19).⁶⁶ At the peak of this regenerated interest in a forgotten monument and its associated past, the mayor announced what his predecessors were unable to realise: the Louvre promised to send replicas and their moulds



Figure 13.17 From a local shadow-theatre play ('The Enchanted Ones—The Good Ladies [Kalokirades] of the Agora' by Yannis Hatzis, 2012)

Source: Courtesy of Yannis Hatzis



Figure 13.18 ‘From the divine light of Mount Olympus followed by the aura of ancient gods, this wine is part of the series “Las Incantadas”, named after the story of the procession of statues devoted to the worship of the God Dionysus’

Source: www.facebook.com/wine.lasincantadas?ref=br_rs. Accessed 23 June 2017

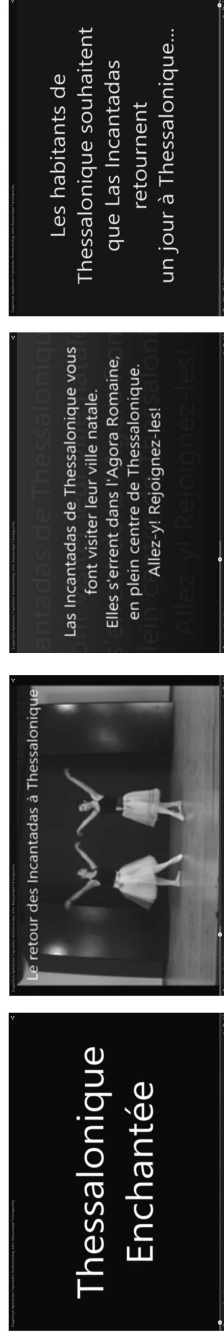


Figure 13.19 'Thessalonique Enchantée'. Short film in French by the students of the Arsakeion High School of Thessaloniki. In the film, the *Incantadas* escape from the Louvre and return to their home city

Source: www.youtube.com/watch?v=geIRE_12gP4. Accessed 8 May 2015. Courtesy of Arsakeion High School of Thessaloniki

to Thessaloniki sometime in 2012.⁶⁷ This symbolic return was presented as an opportunity to celebrate the centenary of the city's incorporation into the Greek state and, at the same time, to approach a multi-ethnic local past.⁶⁸ The return, however, was delayed due to a disagreement concerning the placement and management of the replicas.⁶⁹

The local authorities presented then the issue of the statues' return as crucial for the representation of the city's cultural identity.⁷⁰ A businesswoman announced that she would provide the necessary sum of 186,000 euros to be paid to the Louvre for the 'deal' (Figure 13.20).⁷¹ As Boutaris's move differed in discursive terms from all previous repatriation attempts, the deal also received some noteworthy comments. Some Thessalonians had considered it as a symbolic return of an important monument to its birthplace: for example, in the visitors' book of the city's Archaeological Museum, three school girls wrote in 2009: 'This is an excellent museum! [But] we wish *our* statues would be returned from the Louvre!' (Figure 13.21). Others viewed the deal as immoral: 'The French stole the Enchanted Ones and now we pay them to have some copies back', a citizen wrote in a local blog.⁷²

Moreover, the use of the Ladino term *Incantadas* or its Greek translation (*Magemenes*) instead of the Idols (*Εἰδωλα*) used in the 1990s and the early 2000s

Now you see them, Now you don't

October 12, 2012 | Filed under: thess.gr, Δήμαρχος Θεσσαλονίκης, Νοοτροπία | Posted by: Argos



Μαγική εικόνα χωρίς εικόνα.

Figure 13.20 'Now you see them, Now you don't'. Mayor Boutaris and the once aspiring donor Amvrossiadou one year before the announced project for the acquisition of replicas of the *Incantadas* failed

Source: <http://thess.gr/blog/3703>. Accessed 10 May 2015

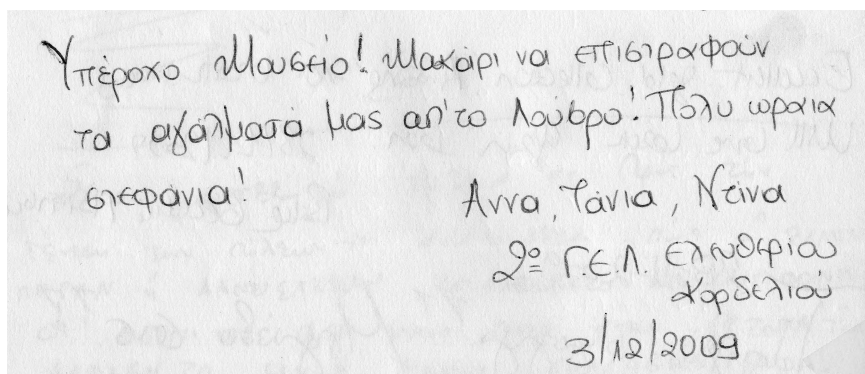


Figure 13.21 School girls from Thessaloniki express their wish for the return of ‘their’ statues from the Louvre. Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki visitors’ book (3 December 2009)

Source: Courtesy of the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki

also connotes a growing interest in the Jewish past of the city and the attempt of the local community to be more visible. For the few remaining Jews of the city, the sculptures refer to the ‘Jerusalem of the Mediterranean’, as Salonica was often called at least until 1912, i.e. before the destruction of its Jewish quarters by the Great Fire and before Hébrard’s plan that eliminated Jewish life in the Rogos quarter and the implementation of the Final Solution by the Nazis and their collaborators in World War II.⁷³

Many local references to the *Incantadas* have been associated with the economic and social crisis that Greece has been experiencing since 2010. During a radio interview with a local expert on the *Incantadas*, the journalist introduced their history and the claim for their return as an opportunity for the city to be re-enchanted, in an absolutely disenchanted period.⁷⁴ The *Incantadas* were presented as part of Europe’s own symbolic debt towards Greece, a cause and partial solution to an unequal relationship between ‘us’ and ‘them’.

Eventually, replicas of the *Incantadas* were sent from the Louvre. In September 2015, they were shown in a temporary exhibition at the 80th International Fair (Figure 13.22). The Fair, an event of significant commercial and political importance, normally provides the setting for Greek prime ministers’ announcements of the basic points of their finance policy, and their contestation by leaders of other parties, and labour union protests. In 2015, the Fair coincided with a critical pre-electoral period. As the organisers of the event pointed out,⁷⁵ ‘the return of the *Incantadas* not only invested the 80th Thessaloniki Fair with enchantment and glory but also symbolised hope, optimism and a connection to our historic past’.⁷⁶

Finally, enchantment, albeit through copies, has been temporarily achieved.



Figure 13.22 The ‘return’. Replicas of the *Incantadas* in a temporary exhibition marking the eightieth anniversary of the International Fair of Thessaloniki (September 2015)

Source: Photograph by Styliana Galiniki

Translations, narrative lacunae, and other remarks

[H]eritage is always already cross-cultural.⁷⁷

Heritage is infused by a sense of melancholia and grief for lost objects and lost sense of identity.⁷⁸

The *Incantadas*, the *Enchanted Ones*, the *Angels* or *Idols* are the polysemous cross-cultural heritage of Thessaloniki, continuously ‘translated’ into inter-related and often competing local representations of the city’s past and its peoples. As Stephanides has put it, ‘translation and heritage have conjoined histories’.⁷⁹ The various, usually female, names assigned to the sculptures connote not only their acquired significance but also their diverse appropriations during their history, which depend on the perspective of the group (ethnic or other) involved each time.

Their usual identification with female figures, although some of the sculptures depict male deities, has also facilitated their association with the Athenian Caryatids since the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Not accidentally, perhaps, the feminisation of these archetypical sculptures has gone hand in hand with the female personification of Thessaloniki by its visitors, its citizens, its governors, and also its novelists from the fin-de-siècle to nowadays.⁸⁰

The representation of the city as a young woman attacked by several aspiring male conquerors echoes the nationalist rhetoric of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, whereas its incorporation into the Modern Greek state, in 1912, was presented by the then local and state authorities as the return of a girl into the hands of her mother.⁸¹ Today, the city's popular reference as the 'Nymph of the Thermaikos Gulf' or as the most 'sensuous' city in Greece possibly reflects the common nationalist view of the nation's domain as an enchanting female body in need of protection by the men of the country.⁸²

Even Stuart's and Revett's attempt in the mid-eighteenth century to provide accurate descriptions and measurements constituted a translation of the monument's significance within the cultural framework of their time. Their narration about 'the ruin', even as they recorded the local myth of the *Incantadas*, is an example of the social need to compromise competing and conflicting views of the past, part and parcel of a circular and poetic art of storytelling which reveals what people, groups, and individuals desire at different times to be remembered or forgotten.

The social biography of the *Incantadas* and their multiple appropriations in the present also exemplify the tricky games that memory and oblivion can play in relation to monuments. One hundred and fifty years after the looting of the sculptures, several people in Thessaloniki have discovered that the city is much poorer without its *enchanted girls* and that their violent transfer away from the city's body has affected, or even traumatised, its identity. Thessalonians 'remember' something that had been completely forgotten: the destruction of significant ancient (in some cases, Ottoman-dated) architecture. In these recently formed recollections, the removal of the *Incantadas* by Miller in the nineteenth century is repeatedly highlighted and experienced as a loss. Thus, Thessaloniki discursively re-introduces itself to its citizens, while it tries to fill in the 'lacunae' in its body: gaps or wounds that the city has recently decided to consider as important. More importantly for its citizens, such a trauma can only be healed through the repatriation of the sculptures. Their return (or, at least, the return of their replicas) can restore some of the city's lost beauty. Once again, the feminine aspect of Thessaloniki emerges, calling for attention or protection.

As the local social memory focuses on the forgotten monument, several layers of representation are involved. Interestingly, many presentations of the *Incantadas* and their history use no pictures of the sculptures themselves. Within this discourse, Stuart's and Revett's famous engravings function as more persuasive and also evocative references to the sculptures than the picture of their current display at the Louvre. The same is true of their use in academic and popular representations of the monument: the banners of most campaigns for the figures' repatriation, the Karaghiozis shadow theatre, and the redisplay of the permanent collection of the local archaeological museum that uses Stuart's and Revett's drawing at life-size (Figure 13.23) are all based on eighteenth-century visual representations rather than photographs of the



Figure 13.23 Powerful ‘translations’: the use of Stuart’s and Revett’s famous drawings in the permanent exhibition of the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki (section: ‘Thessaloniki, Metropolis of Macedonia’). The piece of the monument that was found accidentally in 1997, the only one located today in the city, can be seen to the right

Source: Photograph by Styliana Galiniki. Courtesy of the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki

actual statues. Even the claim for the repatriation of the sculptures is one that, in the spirit of post-modernist discourses on cultural simulation, could be satisfied through copies (i.e. the sculptures’ replicas).

Conclusion

In a way, what has made the *Incantadas* part of the local cultural heritage, even in the nineteenth century, is their loss. Butler and Rowlands discuss the association of cultural heritage in relation to the concepts of loss and of cultural recognition claimed by local, ethnic, and minority groups that seek social justice.⁸³ As Axel Honneth has put it, all struggles for the redistribution of resources, rights, privileges, class, and ethnic conflicts take the form of a claim for recognition at all social levels.⁸⁴ In Thessaloniki, the looted monument is presented

as a loss of the city's cultural identity; at the same time, the discussion about this loss is a fight for the recognition of the city's importance in relation to Athens and, more recently, also for the recognition of its erstwhile multicultural past.

For some Thessalonians, the antiquities are in exile: they represent 'the Elgin Marbles of Macedonia' and as such must return to their homeland. They constitute significant classical monuments in a largely Balkan-Oriental city, which, despite the Greek nationalist rhetoric of the twentieth century, has few verifiable affinities with the glorious classical past of Greece and the emblematic figure of ancient Macedonia, Alexander the Great. In contrast, for others, the *Incantadas* express the very special past of multicultural Ottoman Salonica whose memory still weighs on the present. And in the time of austerity and social crisis that Greece is currently experiencing, the return of the *Incantadas* seems part of a great and symbolic debt that foreigners owe to Greece. When references to illicit trade are made, Europe is the only party indebted, whereas the return of the exported antiquities seems tantamount to a Greek request for dignity. As a 'victim' now, the city of Thessaloniki makes itself visible. Its voice is heard as it 'produces itself as a locality', to use Appadurai's famous terms, in a globalised world of unequal relations.⁸⁵

The *Incantadas* also play a role within the competitive relation of Thessaloniki with Athens, with the latter often being blamed for centralisation and neglect of all other Greek cities. The sculptures have become the Thessalonians' Caryatids, connecting the city to Athens and its greatly admired classical past, 'the birth of democracy' and other (Athenian?) values. In Athens, in the Acropolis Museum, the voids in the display of the Parthenon exhibits allude to the Elgin Marbles that the Greek state claims back. Archaeologists and museum curators have left the space for the desired future accommodation of the exiled pieces.⁸⁶ In Thessaloniki, the symbolic voids caused by the public discourse on the loss of the *Incantadas* will only be filled by the return of the original *enchanted* sculptures.

A new context for the city's social memory has thus been provided within which its citizens can play out the significance of an important, almost idealised, classical past and pursue the discursive healing of a traumatised self.

Antonis Liakos argues that the 'museumification' of objects constitutes a process of both alienation and re-familiarisation with the past, resembling mourning.⁸⁷ If the loss of the sculptures was an alienation from the represented past, their continued presence in a foreign museum impedes the process of the city's re-familiarisation with its past; the mourning for the monument, which started publicly with the publication of the *Incantadas* in the city's Cultural Capital festival of 1997, is incomplete. The placement of the replicas in a public space somewhere close to the Agora or in the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki⁸⁸ could be a constant reminder of the loss, just like the copies of the Parthenon Marbles one can see in and around the Acropolis Museum.

Yet, in recent years, the story of the *Incantadas* has provided a possible new context for the performance of other aspects of Salonicans' social identity, which resist nationalist readings of antiquity and narrations that omit the different pasts of Thessaloniki in favour of its much-sought classical legacy. The story of multicultural Thessaloniki finds its best expression in Mayor Bourtaris's attempt to find a new symbol for his city and promote a multi-faceted gaze at the city's heritage, away from references to the ever-glowing myth of Alexander.⁸⁹ Identity, in this case, is formed through difference, and Salonican citizenship represents itself through the lens of different local legacies. The story of the *Incantadas* connotes a nostalgic return to cultural diversity, a value often attacked in recent years by xenophobic trends and the consequence of a long period of austerity and insecurity. Finally, among the ethnic groups involved in the story, the tiny local Jewish community also seeks its own narrative position, claiming recognition of its historical existence, which, after the Shoah, had been covered by an embarrassed silence.

The re-emergence of the *Incantadas* into current public discussions gradually reshapes Thessaloniki's frameworks of cultural memory. The monument stands at the borderline of people's 'acceptance of loss and a desire for retrieval, between forgetfulness and memory',⁹⁰ subject to the dynamics of translation and storytelling. In a period of economic and social crisis, rising nationalism and racial violence in reaction against the tendencies of an increasingly globalised and multicultural world, the growing interest in the exiled *enchanted girls* signifies a complex 'translation' of the city's classical past, a peculiar *Hellenomania* capable of accommodating different temporalities of the city's history and people's competing views, not only of their past but also of the future to which they aspire.

Notes

- 1 Enepekidis (1988); Veinstein (1992); Karadimou-Yerolymou (2004); Anastasiadou (1997); Mazower (2006).
- 2 Mazower (2002); Hekimoglou and Danacioglou (1998).
- 3 See Epaminondas and Stefanidis (2012).
- 4 Koumaridis (2006); Lagopoulos (2005); Hastaoglou (2008); Hastaoglou and Karadimou-Yerolymou (1986); Karadimou-Yerolymou (1995).
- 5 Kalpadakis (2012); Elefantis et al. (2007); Triantafyllidou et al. (1997); Danforth (1997).
- 6 Kotsakis (1998); Hamilakis (2007) 125–67; Plantzos (2012). A recent case of Alexandromania and unprecedented treasure-haunt was also caused in summer 2014 in relation to a politically charged state excavation in ancient Amphipolis (Plantzos 2014; Hamilakis 2015).
- 7 The notion of objects' cultural biography has emerged in the last three decades and regards the changing histories, meanings, and values of things as well

- as their effects on people, societies, and events. Concerning its importance in anthropology, archaeology, and museum studies, see Kopytoff (1986), Gosden and Marshall (1999), Hill (2012).
- 8 Mentzos (1997). Interestingly, in 1997 a piece of the monument was accidentally found in Thessaloniki during public works. It possibly derives from a fifth pillar (Lioutas and Mandaki, 1997, 375, but see Papazoglou, 2011, 163 for a different hypothesis).
 - 9 For the different interpretations of the colonnade since the eighteenth century, see Papazoglou (2011) 112–18.
 - 10 Adam-Veleni (2001) 15–16.
 - 11 Tambaki (1998); Mazower (2002); (2006) 259–72; Grigoriou and Hekimoglou (2008).
 - 12 See e.g. Clarke (1816, 440–57), Cousinery (1831, 23–56) and the report by Newton (1865, 121–22), the British Museum's person in the Levant; also the exceptional and rather unknown artistic representation of the monument made by the French vice-consul in Athens, cartographer, and collector of antiquities, Louis François Sébastien Fauvel at www.sothebys.com/fr/auctions/ecatalogue/lot.149.html/2016/old-master-british-drawings-l16040. Accessed 5 July 2016.
 - 13 See Laugier and Séve (2011) 576, fig. 119. The figure depicts the portico of the *Incantadas* as designed during the mission of Marquis Gravier d'Ortières (1685 and 1687).
 - 14 Grélois (2003).
 - 15 Pococke (1745) 148–51.
 - 16 Grigoriou and Hekimoglou (2008) 64.
 - 17 Stuart and Revett (1794) 53.
 - 18 Stoneman (2011) 120–35; Salmon (2008); O'Sullivan (2011); Whitley (2001) 26.
 - 19 Stuart and Revett (1794) plate I, 54.
 - 20 *Ibid.*
 - 21 *Ibid.* It is interesting to note that two hundred years afterwards, the Greek intellectual Konstantinos Mertzios blamed the British travellers for such comment: 'These gentlemen forgot that we are genuine descendants of the ancient Greeks who created the richest and most beautiful mythology in the world' (Mertzios, 2007, 194–5, note 1).
 - 22 On the legacy of Alexander the Great and the transcultural influence of his legend, see Stock (2016).
 - 23 See Mertzios (2007) 203, Vakalopoulos (1992) 32, 56–8, 116, 209–10, Abbot (1903) frontispiece and 289–90, Politis (1889).
 - 24 The first who viewed the monument as 'similar to the Caryatids' of the Athenian Acropolis was probably the French consul in Salonica Felix Beaujour (1800, 21). See also the description by the British archaeologist and architect Cockerell who visited Salonica in 1810 (Vickers, 1985, 219). Later, the association with the Caryatids would be adopted by several Greek scholars who referred to the sculptures as *Idola* (Idols). See e.g. Dimitsas (1988) 408, 420.

- 25 See for example, Beaujour (1800) 23.
- 26 Miller (1865) 386. Many thanks to Mr Haris Yiakoumis for indicating this source.
- 27 Miller (1889) 360.
- 28 Miller (1889) 336–66; see also Vakalopoulos (1985–1986), Mazower (2006) 264–71, Papazoglou (2011) 39–46.
- 29 The article was written on 1 November and published nine days later. Newspaper *Paliggenesia*, 10 November 1864, pp. 2–3. See also Galiniki and Solomon (2015) 155–6. The photograph mentioned in the letter (shot by the well-known in Athens Greek photographer Georgios Kolombos), was identified by the researcher Haris Yiakoumis in 2012 in the private collection of Pierre de Gigord (Haris Yiakoumis, personal communication): see Figure 13.8. This is one of the oldest photographs of Thessaloniki and the only one depicting this side of the monument. Miller also mentions a picture, now lost, of the monument taken from the window of an adjacent house (Miller, 1889, 359; Pedrizet, 1930, 61; cf. Gala-Georgila and Hekimoglou, 2011, note 4; Laugier and Séve, 2011, 586).
- 30 Beaujour (1800) 21. Gala-Georgila and Hekimoglou assign the Turkish name of the sculptures to the awe that they inspired in the local population (2011, 1, note 1). Related perhaps to the Turkish name of the statues and perhaps some superstition concerning the Suret is the story told by Miller about a Muslim servant who approached the removed pillar depicting a *Nike* (Victory) and then, with tears in his eyes, kissed the sculpture (Miller, 1889, 345; Mazower, 2006, 268).
- 31 Hatzioannou (1880) 56. Hatzioannou, a Greek Salonican intellectual, expresses his gratitude towards the French for taking the Salonican Idols and thus preventing their further deterioration. According to Gala-Georgila and Hekimoglou, the word ‘Idols’ used by Greek-speaking Salonicans to name the *Incantadas* was a reference to the ancient idolatry in opposition to their own Christian faith (Gala-Georgila and Hekimoglou, 2011, 1, note 1).
- 32 Stephanides (2003).
- 33 Stephanides (2003) 49.
- 34 Walter Benjamin in Stephanides (2003) 48; Galiniki (2015) 116–19.
- 35 Clifford (1988).
- 36 Cf. Galiniki and Solomon (2015).
- 37 Ioannou (1988) 72.
- 38 Pedrizet (1930) 63–6.
- 39 Beale (1883) 205–6.
- 40 The first academic study of the sculptures was by Pedrizet (1930). For later studies, see Guerrini (1961) and Baldassare (1976), who dated the *Incantadas* to the second or third century AD. On the history of the Agora excavations and the ferocious battles between archaeologists and the Ministry of Justice when the Greek government decided to build the Court above the unearthed ancient remains, see Adam-Veleni (2001; 2013).

- 41 For example, in the newspaper *Makedonia* (21 March 1920), there is an announcement regarding planned excavations by the Greek archaeologist Pelekidis who intended to discover the city's ancient stadium and explore the area around the *Incantadas*' monument (in the text referred to as 'the Idols') [Figure 13.11], while we read on the same newspaper about a secret love affair revealed on May Day 1923 by a local policeman on the Street of the Idols. The journalist refers to the sculptures looted sixty years earlier and connects them to a modern 'idol', i.e. that of a young woman in love (*Makedonia*, 3 May 1923). [Figure 13.12]
- 42 About the new city plan assigned to the French urban planner Ernest Hébrard, see Karadimou-Yerolympos (1995), Lagopoulos (2005).
- 43 On the uses of the square until the start of the archaeological excavations and the discovery of the Agora, see Anastasiadis and Hekimoglou (2001) 115–23.
- 44 Tachoyiannis (1939).
- 45 Gala-Georgila and Hekimoglou (2011) 3, note 8.
- 46 See Papazoglou (2011) 164–6, Gala-Georgila and Hekimoglou (2011), Adam-Veleni et al. (2014) 10.
- 47 Vakalopoulos (1985–1986).
- 48 Tolias (2010).
- 49 Myrtsioti (2011).
- 50 Cited in Kalfopoulos (1994).
- 51 Kosmopoulos (1994). See also the announced exhibition on 'the purchase of moulds of the Incantadas from the Louvre' at www.hri.org/culture97/eng/program/1.html. Accessed 18 April 2015.
- 52 See Triandafyllidou et al. (1997).
- 53 Agelopoulos (2003; 2008); Papari (2011) 303–427. Agelopoulos argues that the local discourse on multiculturalism did not concern Albanian and Eastern European immigrants, who flooded Thessaloniki after 1990. It was oriented (rather schematically and superficially) towards new consumerist manners related to food and music consumption as well as the remote past and definitely not the (then) present of Thessaloniki, in which the Balkan Other was treated as a threat to security and local welfare (2003; 2008, 201–3).
- 54 Yet see the welcome text 'Thessaloniki '97' which undermines a multicultural perspective (www.hri.org/culture97/welcome_gr.html. Accessed 1 July 2016). On this double-sided and often conflicting character of the festival, moving between emphasis on ancient Macedonian treasures, Alexander the Great, and the glory of Byzantium, on the one hand, and the multicultural heritage of Salonica as a Balkan-Ottoman metropolis in the Mediterranean, on the other, see Agelopoulos (2003).
- 55 See the 'Cultural / Artistic Programme, May–December 1997', in www.hri.org/culture97/eng/program/index.html. Accessed 9 May 2012.
- 56 Grigoriou and Hekimoglou (2008) 69; Adam-Veleni, personal communication.
- 57 The presence of the modern statue of Venizelos (often called 'ethnarchis', i.e. 'leader of the nation') placed at the lower part of this square in 1977 cannot

- be understood outside the processes of Hellenisation of Thessaloniki that he undertook in the late 1910s and the 1920s, including the Hébrard urban plan that was applied mainly in this area. The statue's location is symbolically—yet unintentionally—connected to the erasure of the multi-ethnic character of the city's centre by the venerated Greek politician.
- 58 See Charissopoulou (2011), also <http://ndthessaloniki.gr/2011/03/30/καλαφατησ-να-γυρισουν-οι-μαγεμενες-σ/>. Accessed 22 April 2015.
 - 59 See e.g. 'Las Incantadas, the Elgin Marbles of Thessaloniki' (www.you2repeat.com/watch/?v=Lw-Lf5D1mTw. Accessed 22 April 2015), 'Las Incantadas, the Enchanted Ones, the Elgin Marbles of Thessaloniki' (www.thessalonikiartsandculture.gr/blog/texnopersona/las-incantadas-oi-magemenes-ta-elgineia-tis-thessalonikis#.VTeHXxbgq51. Accessed 22 April 2015).
 - 60 See e.g. Adam-Veleni et al. (2014) 313. Other displays include the temporary exhibition 'Thessaloniki, the city of the collectors' at the Museum of Byzantine Culture (2012, see <http://mbp.gr/images/syllektes.pdf>. Accessed 3 May 2015) and a modern art exhibition at the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, see www.incantadas.com/Catalogos/INCANTADAS_catalog.pdf. Accessed 5 May 2015.
 - 61 See Descamps-Lequime (2011), Laugier and Séve (2011), Myrtsioti (2011).
 - 62 See e.g. <http://sobraluz.blogspot.gr/2008/03/incandadas.html>. Accessed 5 May 2015 and <http://lasincantadas-documentary.blogspot.gr>. Accessed 5 May 2015.
 - 63 Galiniki (in press).
 - 64 The group 'Να γυρίσουν οι Μαγεμένες! (Enkantadas.Incantadas)' ['The Enchanted Ones must come back (Enkantadas.Incantadas)'], www.facebook.com/groups/111755918843536/. Accessed 10 June 2015.
 - 65 See the post 'Οι "Μαγεμένες της Θεσσαλονίκης" στο Φεστιβάλ Πολιτισμού' ['The "Enchanted Ones of Thessaloniki" in the Festival of Culture'] by Rena Kos, 8 July 2010, <http://eedebe.blogspot.gr/2010/07/blog-post.html>. Accessed 17 April 2015.
 - 66 See for example the short movie 'The Enchanted Ones' by Eleni Stoumpou-Katsamouris in collaboration with the Archaeological Institute of Macedonian and Thracian Studies (2010. www.youtube.com/watch?v=RdrNgPkENwU. Accessed 5 May 2015).
 - 67 'The statues removed by Miller return to Thessaloniki' (www.inewsgr.com/96/epistrefoun-sti-thessaloniki-ta-agalmata-pou-afairethikan-apo-ton-miler.htm. Accessed 5 May 2015). See also statements made by Mayor Boutaris, P. Adam-Veleni (Director of the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki), and the would-be sponsor Elena Amvrossiadou in Paris, after the deal with the Louvre (www.youtube.com/watch?v=2D0tv-TKaUY. Accessed 9 May 2015).
 - 68 Charissopoulou (2012).
 - 69 See Tsakonas (2012) and <http://thess.gr/blog/3703>. Accessed 5 May 2015.
 - 70 Myrtsioti (2011).
 - 71 Pimblis (2012). Also, www.youtube.com/watch?v=2D0tv-TKaUY. Accessed 10 May 2015). There are different sums reported in the Greek press, see e.g. Myrtsioti (2011).

- 72 http://peri-planomenos.blogspot.gr/2011/12/blog-post_2404.html#axzz3ZF1DyN3. Accessed 5 May 2015.
- 73 See e.g. the site of Abravanel dealing with issues of Jewish life in Greece, https://abravanel.wordpress.com/2009/06/27/las_incantadas/. Accessed 10 May 2015).
- 74 The researcher Aris Papazoglou in Georgios Kalientzidis's programme Voustrofidon, Local Radio 9,58, 19 February 2012.
- 75 The administration of the Fair (HELEXPO) aided by the Local Council of Thessaloniki, the Greek Ministry of Culture, and other public organisations.
- 76 www.e-typos.com/gr/politismos/article/145651/sti-deth-tha-ektithedai-ta-adigrafa-ton-thrulikon-magemenon/. Accessed 6 September 2015, www.avgi.gr/article/5795680/. Accessed 6 September 2015. See also the Thessaloniki Fair website <http://tif.helexpo.gr/tif/en/magemenes-the-return>. Accessed 6 September 2015). For the closing ceremony for the exhibition and the unprecedented adoration of the displayed replicas, see <http://voria.gr/index.php/article/epese-i-avlea-gia-tis-magemenes-sti-thessaloniki-foto-video>. Accessed 4 July 2016.
- 77 Stephanides (2003) 56.
- 78 Butler and Rowlands (2012) 127.
- 79 Stephanides (2003) 47.
- 80 See Mazower (2002) 105–6.
- 81 Galiniki (2015) 190.
- 82 Cf. Mayer (2000) 10.
- 83 Butler and Rowlands (2012).
- 84 Honneth (1996).
- 85 Appadurai (1996).
- 86 On the 'elginisation' of the Parthenon Marbles and the New Acropolis Museum, see Plantzos (2011).
- 87 Liakos (2004) 15–16.
- 88 In September 2017, the replicas were placed on temporary display at the entrance of the museum.
- 89 Galiniki (2015; in press).
- 90 Stephanides (2003) 49.

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Afterword: Hellenomanias past, present, and future

Eleana Yalouri

Influenced by literary criticism, reception theory, and other developments in social history, anthropology, and archaeology, several interesting and innovative studies have explored the ways in which the Hellenic past has informed the present in Greece and beyond. But often a focus on ‘discourses’, ‘ideas’, ‘visions’, ‘images’, ‘imaginings’, and ‘perceptions’ of the Greek past has overshadowed the material, sensorial, and affective elements of the engagement with this past.¹ Even objects of study characterised by their sheer physicality, such as architecture, landscapes, antiquities, sculptures, and so on, have been approached through a predominantly literary focus and tend to be treated like ‘texts’ open to different ‘readings’ and ‘interpretations’ of the various ‘meanings’ of the past.² Alternatively, they may be seen as the products of certain discourses about the past.

This tendency is probably in tune with a long tradition of classical scholarship in European and particularly German universities, which led most western travellers to Greece, immersed as they were in classical learning, to experience ancient Greek sites as ‘more literary *topoi* than geographical realities’.³ The fact that even an architect like James Stuart towards the end of the eighteenth century ‘gave greater weight to the ancient texts than he did to the physical evidence’ in his recordings of ancient Greek architecture, as Salmon shows in this volume, beautifully illustrates the extent to which ‘the word’ has defined imagining and experiencing the ancient material culture. It is, however, hard to imagine how Ancient Greece could have been conceived of as an ideal *topos* or a utopia independently of its material manifestations. Winckelmann, for example, felt that he was transported to and achieved a knowledge of the idealised, ancient Hellas through the direct experience of particular artworks from the past: ‘In gazing upon this masterpiece of art [. . .] I feel myself transported to Delos and the Lycian groves’, as Harloe reminds us in her chapter. The ‘material’ often becomes the means or the vehicle by which to reach or to project ‘the immaterial’, in this case the [ancient Greek] ‘spirit’ and it therefore requires our attention and further analysis.⁴

The growing literature in material culture studies in recent decades has shown the importance of engaging with matter, the latter's affective presence and powerful involvement in sociocultural life, which is not reducible to its 'communicative' or 'symbolic meaning'. By challenging approaches that focus simply on what things 'mean', such writings urge us to investigate the ways things 'act' on our world in a different way from words.⁵ Things are not dead, inert matter, passively marking social relations or simply satisfying functional needs, but are dynamically involved in social and historical processes, and they have an effect on the world through their multiple material qualities: their durability or fragmentation, their rarity or abundance, their age and their newness, as numerous studies by Gell, Ingold, Miller, Tilley, and others have shown.⁶ These studies have questioned long-held binary oppositions, which reproduce dualisms (mind vs body, thinking vs making, ideal vs real, subject vs object, matter vs non-matter), and have, instead, focused on the interface between them.⁷

The present volume offers a series of snapshots of fascinations and obsessions with the Hellenic past in its various manifestations over a period extending from the seventeenth century up to the present. Even though the contributors to this volume do not all necessarily follow the particular tradition of thought in material culture studies I presented above, they do reveal in their work the advantages of a more systematic engagement with matter as a way of illuminating the ways in which 'the glorious' and 'the banal', 'the monumental' and the 'social' compete and mingle in an ever-changing web of associations in different sociocultural contexts. Material things as varied as architecture, paintings, sculptures, stage design, and clothes, have played a powerful role in the quest for and the experience of 'the Hellenic spirit', which is not only conceptually amenable, but also materially constituted and re-enacted through bodily performance.⁸

Embodied Hellenomanias

On several occasions, specific human bodies have been seen as significant conveyors of the Hellenic spirit. For example, Louie Fuller, Isadora Duncan, and other female performers as far back as the eighteenth century have sought to activate/revive the Hellenic past through their dancing bodies and produced a form of knowledge different from any archaeological, historical, or academic variety, as shown in the chapters by Michelakis and Ribeyrol in this volume. Athletes too have sought to revive the ancient Greek spirit using their bodies and have competed with each other over its most 'authentic' rendering. On the occasion of the 1896 Olympic Games revival, for example, young Greek athletes studiously copied the style of classical Greek athletes' depictions on ancient vases and statues, in an effort to emulate 'the classical style and grace' and to prove their Hellenic origin. Their American competitors also claimed to be 'the true conveyors' of 'the glorious spirit of the past', residing in well-trained

bodies, whose legs allegedly worked like clockwork, 'and who in speed seemed to resemble the far-famed coyote of their native land'.⁹ As Leoussi mentions in her chapter, 'the Greek body' and its cult became central to the aesthetics and ideals of 'ethnic Hellenomanias' which tried to reproduce (or revive?) it through training the bodies of contemporary young men and women.

As early as the beginning of the twentieth century, Marcel Mauss wrote that the human body is a product of cultural education and training.¹⁰ Mauss explained how everyday habits like walking and sleeping, which tend to be considered 'natural' and given, are acquired techniques that the body learns by being and acting in specific cultural contexts. Following in the tradition of Mauss, Jean-Pierre Warnier introduced his 'praxeological theory', in which he argued that the subject is defined through repeating bodily movements and practices which cannot exist outside the material world.¹¹ Mauss, he argued, had failed to take into account the way material culture is involved in the shaping of the subject because he perceived the human body in terms of anatomy and physiology, as a bounded entity of human organs. Warnier held instead that the borders of the body may be transformed, coming to include material things. Thus he approached the body as a 'dynamic synthesis of sensori-motricity in a given materiality'.¹²

Leontis's contribution to this volume helps us realise the transformative power of cloth and clothing, which does not passively symbolise or represent but provides a 'second skin' and an embodied experience of the 'Hellenic *topos*'.¹³ Leontis illustrates how, through weaving and wearing Hellenic-style cloth, Eva Palmer Sikelianos did not slavishly copy or 'duplicate' the Hellenic past, but inhabited and embodied it in the present. She thus turned her body into a vessel or *topos* of experience and knowledge about Hellenism, or, I would go so far as to suggest, into a 'time machine' that allowed her to travel to the past and bring it back with her to the present. Her Hellenism did not remain frozen in the past, but was activated in a changing world. Weaving and wearing the Hellenic-style cloth were central to (re)fashioning her modern self for her new, Greek life and connecting her with the lives of Greek women. By calling on upper-class Athenian women to embrace her mode of resistance against European '(crypto)colonialism'¹⁴ through Hellenic weaving and dress, she tried to create an ideal, collective Greek female identity which would fight to change the social order. Weaving thus became a practice that kept 'the Greek spirit' alive by interlacing *syntrimmata* from the past and connecting them with present needs and aspirations and those of future generations through modern materials and human bodies.

The aura of mechanically reproduced Hellenomanias

If weaving her clothing enabled Eva Palmer Sikelianos to fashion her modern self in terms of ideals of the Hellenic past, technology offered the means for

modernity to 'construct' the female body, to 'construct' antiquity and, I would venture to say, to produce antiquity *as* a female body, on a wider scale.

The 2001 movie *Acropolis* by Eva Stefani, for example, has pointed to the way photography, and more generally the western European gaze, has colonised antiquity by presenting the Acropolis as a female body attracting the voyeuristic gaze of its, mostly male, visitors.¹⁵ From its outset photography was linked to the colonial politics of the appropriation of antiquities. Once several newly established nation states in the Mediterranean issued laws to protect their antiquities, western European travellers could no longer collect ancient objects as freely as before. They could, however, bring back photographs of these monuments.¹⁶ If photography was another means to colonise antiquity, the moving image put antiquity into circulation and thus enabled further translations and appropriations of it in the modern world. As Michelakis shows in his chapter, emergent technologies like the cinema at the end of the nineteenth century marked a profound shift in the way Greece was conceptualised and experienced as both an antithesis to as well as an analogy for and product of modernity. Cultures previously perceived as frozen in time, distant and accessible only to specialists through their static material relics (broken vases, columns, and statues standing immobile in museums and archaeological sites), gave way to a Greek world in motion, which reconciled the past with the present, the monumental with the social, and offered entertainment along with moral uplift.

Contrary to Walter Benjamin's classic argument in 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction',¹⁷ it does not seem that the mechanical reproduction of Hellenic antiquity led to the loss of the latter's aura. One could even argue that the mechanical reproduction of Hellenic antiquity increased its popularity through its wider circulation. At the same time it led to a vigorous contestation over what might constitute the most 'authentic' experience of it. The female body became again central in that endeavour with new incarnations of Greco-Roman divinities. Young cinematic goddesses such as Joan Crawford, Ava Gardner, Marlene Dietrich, Rita Hayworth, both borrowed from and lent aura to Hellenic antiquity. As Winkler illustrates in this volume, 'Hollywood became the world's new Olympus' and its gods and goddesses generously offered their bodies' measurements for the benefit of Graeco-Roman scholars who sought to study their ancient ideals.

Despite its claims to rationality, secularism, and common sense, modernity produced its own forms of magic.¹⁸ Hellenic antiquity offered a vast pool of ingredients for magic to draw on. In the case of Inigo Jones, discussed by Macintosh in this volume, modern stage design combined with Graeco-Roman material culture defined him as a technological wizard within theatre history. Antiquity and modernity were syncretised and exerted their magic in a period known for romantically 're-enchanting' the world.

But the Hellenic past was also engaged in other forms and practices of magic, culturally specific to modern nation states, economies, and societies. It was conscripted directly in modern nation states' political representations

and added to the latter's theological effects. The dawn of nationalist ideology in eighteenth-century Europe coincided with the dusk of religious systems of thought, and the 'imagined community of the nation' absorbed and incorporated many religious concepts and ritual practices, leading to the emergence of new forms of magic and the sacred.¹⁹ 'Civic' and 'ethnic' Hellenomanias gave rise to parliaments, banks, memorials, museums, as well as other public and private buildings, discussed in Leoussi's and Lambrinou's chapters. These buildings sought to emulate the Hellenic spirit, to demonstrate the various nation states' Hellenic ideals and origins, and to transport them magically to 'the threshold of the world's leadership', 'where old Greece once stood'.²⁰ In that respect, all these buildings not only represented national ideals and aspirations, but were actively engaged in them. This point is best illustrated by the Washington Monument in Washington, DC, in which a block of stone from the Parthenon itself, donated to the United States in 1865 by the Greek government, was incorporated (see Lambrinou's chapter). In this respect the Washington Monument does not merely symbolise the Hellenic past but embodies it, reintegrating it in a new context for new needs.

Appropriations of the Hellenic past

Ancient gods have, thus, often been invoked to solve modern-day human crises and ancient glories have been appropriated to serve modern-day purposes. By 'appropriation' I refer not simply to physical appropriations of ancient Greek material culture but, more generally, to hermeneutic and experiential (individual and collective) strategies and practices which involve taking something out of one context and putting it into another. These processes may rely upon asymmetrical relations of power, negotiations, and contestations between what (or who) is appropriated, where and from whom. They also involve both individual actors as well as 'global' and collective processes, during which a constant negotiation and reformulation of what is 'authentic' and what is not takes place.²¹ As this volume indicates (see in particular the introduction and Richard Jenkyns's chapter), conceptions of what was 'Greek' are far from given. They were interpreted and experienced differently by different people, depending on the archetypes they knew. As Richard Jenkyns notes, the arrival of the Parthenon Marbles in London in 1803 disturbed or complicated the Winckelmannian idea of Greek art, which until then was known largely through Roman copies. Despite the mass circulation of Hellenic-style material culture, or perhaps because of it, the authority of 'the unique', 'original', and 'authentic' became a field of contestation. This point brings me to the ways in which the Hellenic heritage has been contested by 'the world' and 'its legitimate owners', the modern Greek nation state.

When the Greek state was established in the early 1830s it inherited not just the territory, but also the patrimony of its ancient forebear, which had already become the 'beloved heritage of many people around the world'.²² At

a time when 'the Hellenic topos'²³ represented an idealised homeland for several European powers, the modern inhabitants of Greece were often excluded from this idyllic homeland.²⁴ For some, the modern Greeks represented what Chakrabarty calls 'a figure of lack'.²⁵ They did not conform to the idealised image western Europeans had painted of the [modern] descendants of the Hellenes. The ancient Greek heritage thus acquired a central role in shaping national consciousness, legitimising the modern Greek state, and especially, demonstrating its European orientation.

Under the influence of Bavarian Neoclassicism, and with the support of institutions and educational establishments as well as archaeology,²⁶ the idea that Hellenism had been reborn and that the ancient Greeks had found their legitimate heirs in the modern Greeks was systematically fostered. Archaeological excavations as well as restoration and restitution of ancient Greek monuments turned into national projects and served as metaphors for 'rebirth' and the process of nation-building that sought to reterritorialize the ancient Greek glory to the modern Greek nation state. Celebrations, such as the revival of the Olympic Games in 1896 and later, in 1927 and 1930, the staging of the Delphic Festivals (discussed by Sikelianos in this volume), were addressed to a modern international public in order to promote and activate a 'world heritage' which had now acquired a *national* homeland.²⁷ It should then come as no surprise that Greece's struggles for the restitution of its classical heritage, such as the Parthenon Marbles, became of great national importance to the country.

The chapter by Solomon and Galiniki in this volume provides us with another example of heritage contestation by the Greeks that is not grounded exclusively on nationalistic sentiments. The *Incantadas*, the Roman sculptures which were removed from Salonica by the French palaeographer Emmanuel Miller, have been attributed a variety of meanings and have been linked with a palimpsest of different local identities (Muslim/Turkish, Greek Orthodox as well as Sephardic Jewish) over a long period of time. The *Incantadas'* biography is interwoven with these people's biographies and constitutes another form of Hellenomania that accommodates 'different temporalities of the city's history and people's competing views, not only of their past, but also of the future to which they aspire', as Solomon and Galiniki suggest.

Hellenic antiquity, as familiar as it is remote, creates experiences that are not just the product of academic knowledge or some scholarly tradition, but also of the daily contact that people have with it when they live and grow up alongside it. An increasing number of ethnographies attest to the fact that, apart from the versions of history propounded 'from above' by state agencies, intellectuals, and officials, there are other ties to the past, which are consistent with or depart from 'official' versions and which arise out of everyday practices and experiences.²⁸ Moreover, the contact with the past is not always linked to a rational or historicist perception of an 'objective' and 'documented' past, but may highlight other historicities or engagements with its physical remains that are involuntary, corporeal, sensory, and emotive.²⁹

The dynamics of matter

In the *Oxford English Dictionary* the concept of *mania* is defined as 'an excessive enthusiasm or desire; an obsession'. But it is also defined as a 'mental illness marked by periods of great excitement or euphoria, delusions, and overactivity'.³⁰ What is common to these two definitions is that they point to realms beyond the rational. Therefore, if we wish to study the phenomenon of Hellenomania, we need to move towards approaches that do not simply focus on the cognitive and/or the communicative, but pay serious attention to the affective, the corporeal, and the emotional.

Moving away from an exclusively discursive and literary approach to things can prove particularly fruitful in showcasing the multiple ways in which these things do not just illustrate, represent, or derive from discourses, ideas, and visions, but actually play a dynamic role in their shaping. The arrival of the Parthenon Marbles in London in 1803 challenged the Winckelmannian idea of Greek art (as discussed by Jenkyns in this volume). Similarly, the discovery of colourful Tanagra statuettes in Boeotia in the second half of the nineteenth century subverted established Victorian aesthetic hierarchies well beyond the realm of painting, affecting, for example, dancing and the literary arts (as shown by Ribeyrol's chapter). At a more subjective level too, the encounter with Hellenic material culture had a direct and transformative impact on the nineteenth-century viewer, who considered it an ethically transformative and uplifting experience (as illustrated in the chapters by Harloe and Michelakis). In fact, the power of the material to 'act back' and shape discourses and visions may have been experienced not only in conscious but also unconscious ways. Richard Jenkyns mentions that people in the eighteenth century might have been receiving Greece without knowing it by, for example, living in English houses with 'Etruscan rooms', which were actually based on Greek art. Conversely, they might believe that they were receiving Greek art when they were not, in fact, doing so, like for example when they derived their ideas about Greek sculptures from Roman copies.

Material culture theorists have highlighted the weaknesses of models that approach the material world as if it were a language or a text to decipher. But they have also pointed out that we should be careful not to overemphasise the independence of the material world of language. Tilley, for example, has argued that the material world cannot be seen independently of the language we use to study it:

[. . .] we primarily have to write and speak of things, transform them into utterances [. . .]. It is only through the use of words that we can claim, assert, investigate and understand why things matter.³¹

We also cannot ignore the material and affective dimension of words themselves, both in their written form (words or texts with specific visible, aesthetic

presence) and in their oral delivery, which may not simply 'communicate', but also 'act' on people by enchanting, captivating, controlling, or transforming their recipients.³²

This volume reveals the ways in which both the word *and* the image/the material, both the literary *and* other creative engagements with the ancient material world, fed into each other, producing different kinds of Hellenomania. Thus, this volume does not simply promote the significance of matter when studying the Hellenic past in the present, but it also helps us realise what may go amiss, if in our eagerness to promote the importance of the material we discard old conceptual apparatuses, suggesting that things are discursively qualified as well.³³

Hellenomanias present and future

But what about modern-day fascinations with Hellenic culture? Along with presenting examples of Hellenomania spanning the period from the seventeenth century to the present, this volume (see especially chapters by Solomon and Galiniki and David Watkin) points to the fact that Hellenomania has not died out but is very much present and alive and taking new forms both in Greece and beyond.

In recent years and largely due to the proverbial 'Greek crisis', there seems to be a new kind of Graecomania emerging that is promoting the Greek capital as its special point of reference once again. Two stereotypical images of Athens seem to be running in parallel in international media: on the one hand that of a dilapidated city, exhausted by its financial crisis, and on the other, the image of a hub of creativity and freedom, an experimental workshop of alternative economic and socio-political strategies.³⁴ A growing number of visitors, activists, artists, and academics have moved to Athens and are looking for inspiration not so much in its ancient ruins as in its modern ones, seeking to experience, assist with, and express their own perspectives on 'the Greek crisis' and spend time, so to speak, at the scene of the action. If the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Hellenomaniacs who visited Greece on the Grand Tour wished to come closer to an idealised Greek ancient past, recent developments have led a new wave of visitors to orientate themselves towards the future.

'Learning from Athens' is the title of the next international contemporary art exhibition of documenta (documenta 14),³⁵ an event which will be shared between its hometown Kassel,³⁶ Germany, and Athens, Greece. As characteristically noted by the artistic director of documenta 14 Adam Szymczyk: 'Athens embodies the uncertain future of democracy in a western world which is losing its reference points. It is the most dynamic place to meditate and learn for the future.'³⁷

If Szymczyk considers Athens as the place to reflect on the fragile and uncertain future of democracy, the Greek Minister of Culture, Lydia Konioridou, reproduces the tried and tested idea of Athens as the place to meditate on

the stable, finished achievement of democracy as an ultimate Greek achievement. When asked what she thinks we can 'learn from Athens' she replied 'Democracy. [. . .] That gift of democracy, which little old Athens gave the world in the 5th century BC.'³⁸ The Hellenic *topos* is becoming once again a resource open to different translations, appropriations, aspirations.

Documenta 14's public programme in Athens (hosted in a building which served as the headquarters of the military police during the years of the junta) invited forty-five participants 'to exercise freedom' and join in a 'parliament of bodies' that would proclaim notions of democracy and freedom opposed to those of neoliberalism and western hegemonic discourse. The architecture to support this aim was provided by visual artist Andreas Angelidakis, who produced a structure entitled *Demos* consisting of 'sixty-eight blocks of ruins (of a democratic parliament?)' made of a light-weight material shaped like concrete blocks that can be assembled and re-arranged in endless ways, 'creating multiple and transient architectures'. According to its creator, *Demos* alludes, on the one hand, to the ancient steps up the Pnyx hill, and to the ideas of democracy that became the model for authority spaces all over Europe (parliaments, libraries, courthouses). On the other hand, it alludes to the concrete modernist structures frames of *polykatoikies* (blocks of flats), borrowed from Europe and used to democratise the way modern Athens was built.

Non-Greek contemporary artists too, continue to be inspired by the Hellenic heritage and to produce artworks that become more powerful once presented in the name of or in the vicinity of the Hellenic *topos*. For example, documenta 14 sought and acquired permission from the Central Archaeological Council (KAS, Κεντρικό Αρχαιολογικό Συμβούλιο, Kentriko Archaeologiko Symboulío) of Greece to install Canadian artist Rebecca Belmore's work on the Philopappos hill, which overlooks the Athenian Acropolis. *The Tent*, as the artwork is entitled, is a marble tent measuring 2 x 2 x 1.40 m, which was designed to be constructed from marble obtained from an Athenian quarry. The artist herself connected the construction of the marble tent with her personal history, and the wigwam homes of the Anishinaabe indigenous people of Canada.³⁹ According to documenta 14's official announcement, the work aims to raise awareness of humanitarian issues at a time of international crisis and increasing numbers of refugees and economic migrants: 'The objective', the artistic director noted, 'is to create "a conversation" between the artwork and the Parthenon, the universal monument, and between the artwork and the contemporary topography. Moreover, the tent, which references the indigenous people of Canada, has multiple meanings: precariousness, frugality, refugee status, the substitute of the house'.⁴⁰

At the time of writing the official opening of documenta 14 has not yet taken place. Newspapers have, however, announced that the opening event on 6 April is planned to include a mounted parade with twelve horses and riders, starting from the pedestrian route that circles the Acropolis and ending at the Greek Parliament. The parade, which references the one depicted on the

Parthenon frieze, will also mark the beginning of a longer 100-day journey on horseback covering the 1,850 miles from Athens to Kassel, passing, like an earlier Olympic torch relay, through western Balkan countries such as the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Serbia, and Slovenia. The Central Archaeological Council has given its approval for the event scheduled to take place in the vicinity of the Acropolis, provided that the horses are of normal size and not the little Skyrian ponies that documenta 14 curators were originally planning to use. The horses depicted on the Parthenon frieze were not small, the Central Archaeological Council insisted.⁴¹

At a time when international press abounds with cartoons depicting ancient Greek heroes exhausted by the Greek crisis, ancient Greek ruins giving way to contemporary ones,⁴² and headlines urging: 'Sell your islands, you bankrupt Greeks . . . and the Acropolis as well!' (*Bild Zeitung* 27 October 2010), it looks as if new Hellenomanias are under way, which draw on the continuing relevance of the material cultures of ancient Greece, even if they wish to produce critical discourses that come to replace older ones. The Hellenic past continues to work as an ideological umbrella, able to accommodate different discourses and practices. It is actively involved in individual or collective demands that invoke, reproduce, contest, or overturn dominant discourses on antiquity for their own ends. These remind us that each present may have its own Hellenomania.

Notes

- 1 Yalouri (2014) 166; Tziouvas (2014) 5.
- 2 *Ibid.*
- 3 Eisner (1993) 67–8; cf. Leontis (1995) 42.
- 4 Miller (2005); Yalouri (2014)
- 5 See e.g. Tilley (2001).
- 6 Gell (1998); Ingold (2007); Miller (2005); Tilley et al. (2006), Bille and Sørensen (2010)
- 7 See also introduction to this volume.
- 8 Yalouri (2014)
- 9 Yalouri (2004) 319.
- 10 Mauss (1935[1934])
- 11 Warnier (2001).
- 12 *Ibid.*
- 13 On the 'Hellenic topos' see Leontis (1995).
- 14 Herzfeld (2002).
- 15 Yalouri (2010).
- 16 Hamilakis (2014) 42–3.

- 17 Benjamin (1969 [1936]).
- 18 Pels (2003).
- 19 Anderson (1991) 12.
- 20 Yalouri (2004).
- 21 Schneider (2006).
- 22 Lowenthal (1988).
- 23 Leontis (1995).
- 24 See e.g. Politis (1993).
- 25 Chakrabarty (1992) 6, 18.
- 26 For educational establishments see Koulouri (1988); for archaeology see Kokkou (1977) and also Yalouri (2001), Hamilakis (2007), Plantzos and Damaskos (2008).
- 27 Yalouri (2014).
- 28 With specific reference to Greece see, for instance, Herzfeld (1991), Sutton (1998), Stewart (1998), Kaftantzoglou (2001), Yalouri (2001), Solomon (2007), Stroulia and Buck Sutton (2010), Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos (2009).
- 29 See e.g. Taussig (1984), Stewart (2012), Navaro Yashin (2009), Hamilakis (2014).
- 30 <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/mania>
- 31 Tilley (2002) 23.
- 32 Yalouri (2014); (2016) 60–71.
- 33 Cf. also Navaro Yashin (2009) 9–10.
- 34 Zefkili (2016)
- 35 Official documenta webpage: www.documenta.de/en/#; official documenta 14 webpage: www.documenta14.de/en/
- 36 It is worth mentioning here that Kassel was one of the German principalities that came under Winckelmannian inspiration in the eighteenth century and founded a Society of Antiquities: see Harloe (2013) 170–1.
- 37 Astrapellou Marilena, 'H. documenta του Κάσελ μετακομίζει στην Αθήνα' ['Kassel's documenta is moving to Athens'], www.tovima.gr/vimagazino/views/article/?aid=638818
- 38 Kouparanis Panagiotis, 'How Greece is defending culture in a state of crisis', www.dw.com/en/how-greece-is-defending-culture-in-a-state-of-crisis/a-37268793
- 39 'Αρχαιολογικούς χώρους στην Αθήνα ζήτησε η documenta 14-Το ΚΑΣ γνωμοδότησε μόνο για τον ένα' ['documenta 14 asked for archaeological sites in Athens. The Central Archaeological Council gave its consent for one'], www.lifo.gr/now/culture/115053 and Karatasou Antigoni, 'Η Documenta ζητά μαρμαρίνη σκηνή στον Φιλοπάππου, το ΚΑΣ το σκέφτεται' ['documenta asks for a marble tent [to be exhibited] on Philopappos Hill. The Central Archaeological Council thinks about it'], www.liberal.gr/arthro/79734/epikai-rotita/2016/archaiologikous-chorous-stin-athina-zitise-i-documenta-14.html#.V-QYQXI6b84.facebook

- 40 'H documenta στήνει μαρμαρίνη σκηνή 300 κιλών στο λόφο του Φιλοπάππου' [*'documenta installs a marble tent weighing 300 kilos on Philopappos Hill'*], www.iefimerida.gr/news/292611/i-documenta-stinei-marmarini-skini-300-kilon-sto-lofo-toy-filopappoy-eikona
- 41 'Documenta 14 horseback event to recreating Parthenon frieze scenes', www.tornosnews.gr/en/greek-news/culture/22897-documenta-14-horseback-event-to-recreating-parthenon-frieze-scenes.html
- 42 Talalay (2013).

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